

Declaration of Dr. J. Morgan Kousser

1. Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. section 1746, I, J. Morgan Kousser, declare as follows:

I. Purpose of this Report

2. I have been asked to gather, organize, and analyze qualitative and quantitative evidence relevant to the intent of those who drew the congressional and state legislative redistricting plans in Texas in 2021 and the effect of that redistricting in order to assist the finders of fact in this litigation to reach conclusions about that intent and that effect. In doing so, I have employed the standard historical techniques that I have used previously in published scholarship and extensive expert witness testimony. For the convenience of those finders of fact, I have arranged the evidence under rubrics that I have applied before in constitutional voting rights cases, which derive from the U.S. Supreme Court's opinion in the *Arlington Heights* case.¹ In addition, I will summarize the effect evidence using the standards for Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act set out in Senate Report 97-417.

3. Two facets of this case affect the shape of this report. First, there are numerous highly-qualified expert witnesses who have thoroughly explored three questions – whether voting in recent Texas elections has been racially polarized, whether it is possible to draw districts that would make it easier for minorities to elect candidates of their choice and that adhered more closely to such “traditional districting principles” as compactness than the districts that the Legislature drew, and what the expected effects of the Legislature's redistricting plans on minority success are likely to be. I will only minimally burden the court by adding to the other experts' expositions of the facts on these questions.

4. Second, during the 2011 redistricting, communications between legislative employees exposed evidence of the intent of the Legislature, as did hearings on the plans held after the shape of the plans ultimately adopted had been made public.² These exposures helped convince courts that aspects of the 2011 plans had been adopted with a discriminatory purpose. Probably for this reason, the plans that the Legislature adopted in 2021 appear to have been drawn up largely by people who were not employees of the Legislature and whose communications the State now argues can be shielded. When redistricting committee chairs attempted to reassure other legislators and citizens that the plans were legal under the Voting Rights Act and the constitution, they never clarified or made public the legal standards that their lawyers had applied – in private. As a consequence, those standards could not be questioned or challenged during the legislative session. Thus, at this time, direct evidence of intentions is even sparser than usual in redistricting cases, and the intent of the authors, whoever they were, must largely be inferred from circumstantial evidence and discussions of the particulars of plans by opponents of the redistricting authorities.

5. The organization of this paper is as follows: After a Table of Contents, I will set out my qualifications as an expert and then give a skeletal summary of the evidence that I will present. I

¹ *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metro. Hous. Dev. Corp.*, 429 U.S. 252 (1977).

² See, e.g., *Perez v. Abbott*, 253 F. Supp. 3d 864, 884, 950, 960-62 (W.D. Tex. 2017) (three-judge court).

will then organize the evidence topically and chronologically, addressing factors drawn from the *Arlington Heights* framework.

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II. Qualifications

6. I am a professor of history and social science, emeritus, at the California Institute of Technology. Educated at Princeton and Yale, I have been a visiting professor at Michigan, Harvard, Claremont, and the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. In 1984-85, I was Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford. As my curriculum vitae, attached to this report as Appendix A, shows, I have published three books and edited another, in addition to 47 scholarly articles, 86 book reviews, and 27 entries in reference works. In addition to my teaching, I have given 80 talks at universities and 50 at scholarly conventions. My work has focused on minority voting rights, educational discrimination, race relations, the legal history of

all of the foregoing subjects, political history, and quantitative methods. I was editor of the journal *Historical Methods*, which specializes in interdisciplinary and quantitative history, from 2000 through 2012. My doctoral dissertation and first book, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910* (1974), was the first comprehensive study of the subject. Termed “the definitive monograph on the establishment of the one-party system in the postwar South” by the late David Donald of Harvard and, in the *Harvard Law Review*, as “still magisterial,”³ *Shaping* concerned the connection between party politics and the disfranchisement of African-American and poor whites in the late 19th and early 20th century South. My 1999 book, *Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction*, was co-winner of the annual Lillian Smith Award of the Southern Regional Council for the best book on the South and co-winner of the annual Ralph J. Bunche Award of the American Political Science Association for the best scholarly work in political science which explores the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism. One of my articles, “The Strange, Ironic Career of Section Five of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-2007,” published in the *Texas Law Review*, was the first comprehensive history of the Voting Rights Act’s first 42 years. Another, “Do the Facts of Voting Rights Support Chief Justice Roberts’s Opinion in *Shelby County*?” introduced the largest data base of voting rights cases and administrative actions yet compiled, covering the U.S. from 1957 through 2006. It has now been extended through 2020 and is employed in an as-yet unpublished paper. Among my recently-published articles is a 9000-word entry on “Voting Rights” for the *Oxford Handbook of American Political History*.

7. I am being compensated at \$400 per hour for my work on this case. My compensation is not contingent on or affected by the substance of my opinions or the outcome of this litigation. I am attaching a copy of my *Curriculum Vitae* as to this report. A list of my publications in the previous 10 years and my testimony during the previous 4 years are in my *Curriculum Vitae*. The facts and data I considered in forming my opinions are identified in the citations in this report. Data for the graphs and maps comes from the Texas Legislative Council.

8. I have previously testified or consulted in 41 federal court cases and 20 state court cases (in Alaska and California) concerning voting rights or redistricting, at least 12 of which have involved the “Senate factors” under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act and 30 of which have involved discriminatory intent. (Some involved both.) Many cases in which I testified, such as the key case of *City of Mobile v. Bolden*,⁴ concerned whether at-large systems of voting were adopted or maintained with a racially discriminatory intent and/or whether they had discriminatory effects. Others, such as *Garza v. County of Los Angeles Board of Supervisors*,⁵ involved questions of “racial gerrymandering.” In some cases, such as the 2003 Texas “re-redistricting” case, *LULAC v. Perry*,⁶ the sources of my testimony were primarily qualitative. In

³ Richard H. Pildes, “Foreword: The Constitutionalization of Democratic Politics - The Supreme Court 2003 Term,” 118 *Harvard LR* 28 (2004), 60, n. 139.

⁴ 446 U.S. 55 (1980), on remand 542 F.Supp. 1050 (S.D. Ala. 1982).

⁵ 918 F. 2d 763 (9th Cir. 1990).

⁶ 548 U.S. 399 (2006).

others, such as the 2002 California state redistricting case, *Cano v. Davis*,⁷ the sources of my testimony were primarily quantitative. My most recent testimony includes the Section 2⁸ and Section 5⁹ Texas redistricting cases and the 2012 Texas voter identification case,¹⁰ the 2014 North Carolina photo identification and election law case,¹¹ and an at-large elections case in Santa Monica, California that involved both California Voting Rights Act and intent contentions.¹² I testified about both the intent and the effect of the laws in the Texas voter ID case, the North Carolina election law case, the Florida felony disfranchisement case, *Jones v. DeSantis*,¹³ and most recently in *League of Women Voters of Florida v. Lee*.¹⁴ I will testify in the forthcoming challenge to the Texas SB1 statute.¹⁵ I have testified or consulted, often producing written reports on racially polarized voting, in at-large election cases under the California Voting Rights Act in Modesto, Hanford, Tulare County, Compton, Palmdale, Lancaster, Santa Clarita, the Santa Clarita Community College District, Santa Barbara, Highland, Rancho Cucamonga, Fullerton, the Fullerton School Board, Banning, West Covina, Arcadia, Santa Clara, West Sacramento, Carson, and the Ramona Unified School District.

9. I have testified twice before subcommittees of the U.S. House Judiciary Committee on voting rights, most recently before the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, about *Legislative Proposals to Strengthen the Voting Rights Act*, Oct. 17, 2019. My testimony, which the Subcommittee termed “compelling and persuasive,” is summarized in H. Rept. 116-317 *Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2019*, available at <https://www.congress.gov/congressional-report/116th-congress/house-report/317/1?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%22Voting+Rights+Advancement+Act%22%7D&r=3&overview=closed>, at pp. 53-56.

IV. Summary of the Report

10. Why did Justice White in *White v. Regester*,¹⁶ Justice Powell in *Arlington Heights*, and the U.S. Senate in its 1982 gloss on Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act,¹⁷ a gloss that was explicitly derived from Justice White’s *Regester* opinion, direct that courts should pay attention to the history of the local or state jurisdiction at issue in a case? Rather than reflecting a desire to dredge up old flaws or to brand current political leaders with the sins of their fathers or

⁷ 211 F. Supp. 2d 1208 (C.D. Ca. 2002).

⁸ *Perez v. Abbott*, 250 F. Supp. 3d 123 (W.D. Tex. Mar. 10, 2017) (three-judge court).

⁹ *Texas v. United States*, 887 F. Supp. 2d 133 (D.D.C. 2012) (three-judge court), *vacated*, 133 S. Ct. 2885 (2013).

¹⁰ *Texas v. Holder*, 888 F. Supp. 2d 113 (D.D.C. 2012) (three-judge court), *vacated*, 133 S. Ct. 2886 (2013).

¹¹ *N. Carolina State Conference of NAACP v. McCrory*, 831 F.3d 204 (4th Cir. 2016).

¹² *Pico Neighborhood Assn. v. City of Santa Monica*, BC616804 (Superior Court, Los Angeles County, 2019), under appeal.

¹³ 462 F. Supp. 3d 1196 (N.D. Fla. 2020), rev’d sub nom. *Jones v. Governor of Fla.*, 974 F.3d 1016 (11th Cir. 2020).

¹⁴ 2022 WL 969538 (N.D. Fla. 2022).

¹⁵ *La Union Del Pueblo Entero v. Abbott*, No. 4:21-cv-00844-XR (W.D. Tex., San Antonio Division), pending.

¹⁶ 412 U.S. 755 (1973).

¹⁷ S. Rep. 97-417 (1982), at 29-30.

grandfathers, the inclusion of the historical background as a factor in determining contemporary intent represented an acknowledgement that judges inevitably approach questions of legislative intent with certain assumptions, and to suggest that the historical record ought to be taken into account in forming those assumptions. As the three-judge court put it in *Graves v. Barnes*, the lower court predecessor to *White v. Regester*,

. . . unlike the State of Indiana, Texas has a rather colorful history of racial segregation. There exist innumerable instances, covering virtually the entire gamut of human relationships, in which the State has adopted and maintained an official policy of racial discrimination against the Negro. Indeed, even the Negro's right to vote and to participate in the electoral process has not remained untouched by the State's policy. Therefore, it is not unlikely that Texas' use of multi-member districts, taken in the entirety of Texas electoral laws and of Texas history, unconstitutionally infringes the voting rights of racial and political minorities in all Texas cities that are districted as multi-member.¹⁸

In *Arlington Heights*, Justice Powell similarly explained that “The historical background of the decision is one evidentiary source, particularly if it reveals a series of official actions taken for invidious purposes.”¹⁹

11. Thus, the purposes of discussing the history of discrimination in Texas in a report like this one are to discover previous patterns that might have parallels to the most current events, as well as to determine whether there was any continuing discrimination that might suggest that current actions were infected with racial motives. Does history suggest that the usual assumption of legislative good faith ought to be rejected in this instance? Yes.

12. Texas’s history is so well known in this venue as to be summarized very briefly. Blacks were enslaved and disfranchised before the Civil War and through Presidential Reconstruction, enfranchised by the Radical Republicans, gradually discouraged (sometimes violently) from voting, until the poll tax and the white primary in 1903, and afterward effectively banned them until the white primary was overturned in 1944. The extent of Mexican-American participation in politics was more equivocal – sometimes allowed or encouraged, more often suppressed -- until the mass migration after the Mexican Revolution, after which Mexican-American participation and officeholding survived only in local pockets until the 1940s. Segregation of Blacks and most Mexican-Americans in schools and after 1890, in most public accommodations, segregation and discrimination in housing and employment, and, in general, discrimination in most areas of Texas’s life through the 1950s and 60s has been well documented.

13. More pertinent is that Texas did not eliminate the poll tax until 1966 and only failed to replace it with a harsh annual registration law because of a federal lawsuit, that after Congress extended Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act to “language minorities” in 1974 evidence of

¹⁸ *Graves v. Barnes*, 343 F. Supp. 704, 725-26 (W.D. Tex. 1972) (three-judge court). In distinguishing *Regester* from the previous at-large elections case of *Whitcomb v. Chavis*, 403 U.S. 124 (1971), which he had written, Justice White praised the opinion of the *Graves* court for its “blend of history and an intensely local appraisal of the design and impact of the Bexar County multimember district in light of past and present reality, political and otherwise.” *White v. Regester*, 412 U.S. 755, 769-79 (1973).

¹⁹ *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metro. Hous. Dev. Corp.*, 429 U.S. 252, 267 (1977) (internal citations omitted).

electoral discrimination in Texas exploded, and that from 1971 on, every statewide redistricting in Texas has been challenged, usually successfully, in court. From 1957-2020, more voting rights lawsuits, settlements, and Section 5 objections and “more information requests” originated in Texas than in any other state, comprising nearly 25% of all such legal proofs of discrimination in elections in the whole United States. These lawsuits continue, and major suits alleging intentional racial discrimination succeeded in various courts during the 2010s. Texas’s history casts strong doubt on the assumption of legislative good faith.

14. The 2011 redistricting is especially important as a background for that of 2021, for it pioneered a discriminatory strategy, blatantly obvious in maps of the Dallas/Fort Worth Metroplex, especially those for congressional districts: dilute minority concentrations in urban areas by extending weirdly-shaped tentacles from suburban and exurban counties into the heart of metropolises. Pack minorities into the remaining areas where one cannot easily submerge them into less urban white districts. Openly scorn such “traditional districting principles” as compactness and communities and such state constitutional mandates as the “county line rule.” Substitute low-turnout Latinos for more regular Latino voters to give the appearance of preserving districts where minorities can elect candidates of their choice, a strategy exposed to the light of day when staff member Eric Opiela’s “nudge factor” email was produced during discovery in a redistricting lawsuit. Redistricters in 2021 copied the strategies of 2011 while attempting to assure that evidence like the “nudge factor” email would never emerge.

15. The historical context of the 2021 redistricting also suggests what must have motivated those drawing plans. Both qualitative and quantitative evidence from the 2018 and 2020 elections demonstrate a dramatic narrowing of Republican congressional margins in the state that paralleled and was produced by a narrowing of the margins of numbers of non-Hispanic whites over people of color in congressional and state legislative districts. Twelve congressional districts in which Republican candidates had won by landslide proportions of 60%-40% or more in 2014 shifted to competitive margins of 55%-45% or less in 2018. Almost all of those newly competitive districts witnessed similarly large increases in their percentages of people of color. These shifts, accompanied by large increases in voter turnout from 2014 to 2018, were termed a “wake-up call” for Texas Republicans by Sen. John Cornyn. The shifts set the agenda for the 2021 redistricting, warning that if the boundaries of districts remained the same, Republicans, who were overwhelmingly dependent on the votes of non-Hispanic whites, would be threatened by the ongoing demographic trends.

16. The climate of racial politics in Texas is also suggestive of racial themes in the redistricting. Sixty-five percent of the officials in Texas’s state government are non-Hispanic whites, even though the group comprises only 41% of the population. Voting is strongly racially polarized, according to statewide exit polls and statistical analyses of actual election returns. Thus, any election measures that would decrease the political power of people of color would rob Democrats of votes from their core voters without diminishing many Republican votes. Ethnic and partisan identification were also highly correlated with issue stances. Public opinion polls of the state’s voters show stark partisan splits on a range of racial issues that are fundamental to the state’s partisan divisions – the extent of racial discrimination against minorities and whites,

keeping Confederate monuments in place, the desirability of documented and undocumented immigration, and an English-only amendment. **Race and partisanship are not merely correlated in Texas; racial issues and identities are fundamental to voters' and leaders' partisan identities. To attempt to separate racial from partisan motives in redistricting in Texas in 2021 is to fly in the face of overwhelming objective evidence.**

17. Basic demographic facts are even more obviously central to evaluating post-*Baker v. Carr*²⁰ redistricting than to understanding other kinds of election laws, because redistricters must equalize populations among districts. Three facts are most critical. First, the increase in the population of people of color and the corresponding decrease in the proportion of non-Hispanic whites in the state's population continues to be dramatic. As was often repeated in the Legislature and the press, 95% of the population growth in Texas from 2010 to 2020 was in people of color. Second, the minority population is strongly concentrated in major metropolitan areas, while more rural areas outside the Rio Grande Valley are overwhelmingly non-Hispanic white. Third, growth in the state's population was almost wholly within urban and suburban places. There was no need to stretch urban congressional, legislative, and Board of Education districts outside of the metropolises to meet equal population requirements. And of course, to dilute urban minority populations by adding them to rural and small-town non-Hispanic whites in the same districts would not preserve communities of interest; it would set different types of communities of interest against each other, insuring that one set of interests would always be underrepresented in legislative bodies.

18. De facto institutional rules that reflected a biased process, one that made it more difficult for minority legislators and the public to play a role either by excluding them or acting on such murky standards as to inhibit thoughtful criticism or just making crucial decisions in secret so that their prime movers could not even be asked for explanations – all of these factors made for such an undemocratic process as to call the motives of the legislative body into question. Even more than in 2011, the redistricting process in 2021 was rushed, providing little chance for minority legislators or the public to understand, much less to help frame the plans. The most crucial decisions were made by consultants or lawyers who were not subject to questioning by minority legislators or the public. The exact role of the redistricting committee chairs in the House and Senate in revising plans inspired, drawn, or revised by others was shrouded in attorney-client privilege, as were the legal interpretations of the complex and often contradictory voting rights legal landscape. As a consequence, many crucial questions about what, under the law, the State was required or permitted to do were never clearly addressed by anyone who had the power to act on answers to them.

19. In defending their *in camera* decisions, the legislative leaders revealed, as the details of the maps and statistics about the districts confirm, that they disregarded traditional districting principles such as not breaking apart communities of interest or refraining from joining together areas that shared no apparent interests whatever. Despite formalistic pledges to consider compactness, lower population deviations between districts, and protect all incumbents, not just Republican incumbents, the redistricting committee chairs admitted that they did not fulfill their

²⁰ 369 U.S. 186 (1962). Before *Baker*, many states, including Texas, ignored a great many population shifts.

pledges. Minority legislators were not just not consulted. In a draft plan that was only overturned by a large public protest at the last minute, the framers of the congressional plan paired two long-serving, very prominent Black Members of Congress. In fact, the State House plan may have been shaped by a roving Republican redistricting consultant whose testimony in a Wisconsin gerrymandering case in 2012 had been described by a federal court as “almost laughable.” The state legislative plan that he and others drew in Wisconsin was held by the federal court to have violated Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act because it failed to create a majority-Latino district in Milwaukee, so he already had a record of discriminatory conduct when he was hired by the State of Texas.

20. Both the Senate and House Redistricting Committee Chairs, Sen. Joan Huffman and Rep. Todd Hunter, repeatedly read from well-lawyered statements concerning their goals and priorities, often acknowledging that preserving the interest of the Republican Party was one of them. Despite the fact that 95% of the growth in the state’s population from 2010 to 2020 was accounted for by minorities, neither Huffman nor Hunter listed recognizing that growth as one of their goals and, in fact, they did not recognize it. Sen. Huffman repeatedly avowed that she had drawn senate and amended congressional districts “blind to race,” but she admitted that attorneys had made decisions based on race before and after she had made the maps, so her race blindness claims only at best represented part of a process suffused with racial considerations in a state boiling with them. Rep. Hunter was more open about his attentiveness to racial considerations, but he freely admitted that he relied on counsel to make decisions about what criteria to use in creating and evaluating districts.

21. In fact, it is so difficult to determine just who drew and/or revised the districts in the secretive process that produced the plans that it is useless to rely as much as in other cases concerning intent on statements by the principal authors of the legislation or on other actions that such individuals have taken. An indirect means to determine the motives of the framers is to examine the extensive amendments that the Legislature rejected and to consider the rationales offered for those amendments. A majority of the legislators made a choice to reject those amendments. Although the proponents of the plans that were adopted did not expound much on their reasons for rejecting the amendments, the choices themselves may provide insights into the motives of the legislative majority.

22. Because the proponents of the adopted plans did not offer either broad or district-specific rationales for the lines they adopted, we are forced to concentrate primarily on the objective evidence about the demographic and political correlates of the boundaries and their shapes. Graphs show that the largest changes in congressional and state House districts made by Plans C2193, H2316, and E2106 came in districts that were the most competitive, which were largely the same as those that were close to majority-minority in citizen voting-age population. In those, where we have already learned that Republican margins significantly deteriorated over the decade of the 2010s, the newly adopted plans sought to bolster the Republican and non-Hispanic white majorities.

23. Maps of a few districts show how it was done – particularly by repeating a tactic from the 2011 redistricting of inserting tentacles from overwhelmingly Anglo suburban/exurban/rural

counties into minority portions of major cities. The trick was to dilute minority votes just enough to prevent the formation of majority-minority or coalition districts in the cities, but not enough to overwhelm the white non-urban votes in the districts that extended into the countryside. Closeups of maps showing demographic and partisan overlays of the tentacle portions of Congressional District 6 and Senate District 10 demonstrate how interchangeable partisan and racial shadings of maps were. Such overlays, available on the Texas Legislative Council's RedAppl system and other redistricting software, can flip race and party percentage overlays with the touch of a few keys, making race and partisanship indistinguishable in a technical, as well as in a substantive sense.

24. Other districts were squeezed, distended, or completely relocated, demonstrating violation after violation of stated or traditional redistricting principles.

25. A further means to throw objective light on the intentions of the redistricters is by examining whether heavily minority districts were overpopulated, compared to nearby predominantly non-Hispanic white state legislative districts. A comparison of West Texas districts drawn in Plan H2316 with a pro-Democratic plan and a MALC demonstrative plan highlight the ethnic and partisan biases in Plan H2316.

26. Graphs that compare the non-Hispanic white proportions in each district in the benchmark and 2021 adopted plans for Congress, the state House, and the State Board of Education show the same patterns. Minorities were packed into fewer, more segregated districts than non-Hispanic whites were in 2020, and there were few ethnically competitive districts in the 45% - 55% range. Minorities were disadvantaged by the structure of districts even before 2021. Then it got worse, in congressional, state House, and State Board of Education seats, despite the much larger amount of minority than Anglo population growth in the 2010s. Minority districts were somewhat more packed than under the benchmarks, and the number of ethnically competitive districts shrank.

27. Finally, I briefly assess four hypotheses about the intentions of those who drew and passed the redistricting plans: What I call the "civic duty" hypothesis, the "blind to race" hypothesis, a suggestion that individuals shaped a haphazard redistricting by making individual deals, and a view that racial discrimination, in a state and at a time in which race and partisanship were inextricably intertwined and were, in fact interchangeable when using redistricting software, was the prime or at least a very significant motive for the redistricting. I conclude that the evidence as I view it provides the most support to the last hypothesis – racial discrimination.

V. Factors To Be Considered in Assessing Discriminatory Intent

28. To organize and systematize inquiries into the intent of the framers of a law or redistricting plan, I set out nine "intent factors" in a law review article in 1991, basing them on Supreme

Court and lower federal court opinions, as well as on law journal articles and my experience in analyzing such questions in normal scholarship and for trials.²¹ While in the central U.S. Supreme Court case on such matters, *Arlington Heights*, Justice Powell did not spend much time explaining the rationale for each factor, I tried to do so, drawing on fuller discussions in lower courts, law reviews, and historical research.²² I subdivided some of Justice Powell's factors for purposes of clarity. What Justice Powell termed the historical background and the sequence of events, I divided into three rubrics: the historical context, demographic facts, and the climate of racial politics. What he called departures from the normal sequence, I termed state policies and institutional rules. What he grouped under legislative or administrative history, I subdivided into the backgrounds of key decisionmakers, other actions of key decisionmakers, and the text of the law or, in redistricting cases, the pattern of the district lines. I used Justice Powell's categories of impact and statements by decisionmakers without change. In my later book, *Colorblind Injustice*, I increased the number of factors to ten and expanded the discussion and examples.²³ I will organize the information in this report under those ten rubrics.

VI. Models of Human Behavior: Does Texas History Support a Presumption of Good Faith?

29. Underlying every causal explanation in history is an implicit or explicit **model of human behavior**, a theory, often inchoate, of how people typically act in certain kinds of situations. Sometimes based on empirical generalizations, sometimes, on rough analogies, sometimes, on common sense, these frameworks should not mechanically determine conclusions -- if they do, why bother about the evidence? But they do establish baselines of initial plausibility for different possible interpretations. How have scholars treated politicians' explanations of their actions? Do political scientists generally believe that politicians are self-interested actors who manipulate electoral rules for their own advantage, or to secure the triumph of their particular ideals, or do they accept at face value the frequent claim by politicians that they are merely transparent vehicles for public opinion? Overwhelmingly, they picture politicians who craft election laws as self-interested.²⁴ The history of election laws in Texas and other southern states illustrates again and again how dominant whites sculpted election laws to restrain Blacks and Latinos and whichever party those groups identified with.²⁵ In the first instance in American history in which a large number of members of an ethnic minority were able to vote, during the post-Civil War era in the Deep South, politicians immediately demonstrated both the willingness and the ability to gerrymander district lines in order to crack, stack, and pack African-American

²¹ "How to Determine Intent: Lessons from L.A.," *The Journal of Law and Politics*, 7 (1991), 591-732, at 704-14.

²² *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metro. Hous. Dev. Corp.*, 429 U.S. 252 (1977).

²³ *Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1999), at 347-58.

²⁴ See, e.g., Samuel Merrill III and Bernard Grofman, *A Unified Theory of Voting* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999); Peter H. Argersinger, "Electoral Processes," in Jack P. Greene, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Political History*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), III, 489-512.

²⁵ See, e.g., Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Univ. Press, 1974); Richard M. Vallely, *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2004).

voters.²⁶ It is worthwhile to examine the history of racial discrimination by Texas governments in detail because that history – a history that continues to produce documented discrimination through the present day -- establishes a rebuttable presumption that Texas governmental actions are likely to be infected by racial motives, and that the usual presumption that such actions were taken in good faith should be treated as dubious in this instance.

A. Slavery, Reconstruction, and Disfranchisement

30. It is merely a truism to say that racial discrimination has been a prominent feature of the history of Texas. Texas was, first of all, a slave state, and as the recent national celebrity of Juneteenth reminds us, the state's slaveowners not only seceded to protect the peculiar institution, but were also most reluctant to give it up. Like other rebel states, Texas rejected the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, and its first post-Civil War legislature and constitutional convention denied Blacks the right to vote, hold office, or serve on juries, and the all-white bodies imposed upon them a distinctly inferior status. To ensure that the status of slave women and children changed as little as possible, Texas's post-Civil War Black Code mandated that labor contracts, which were mandatory for Blacks, but not whites, "shall embrace the labor of all the members of the family able to work." Schools for freedmen and freedwomen during Presidential Reconstruction (1865-66) were not only segregated, but also supported only by the meager taxes and fees paid by Blacks. Under this regime, Blacks in Texas could not testify in court cases involving whites, serve in the state militia, or ride in first-class railroad cars with whites.²⁷

31. When Radical Reconstruction was imposed on Texas by the national Reconstruction Acts of 1866-68, Blacks were granted many more rights – for instance, jury service, voting, and officeholding. The comprehensive Black Code was suspended. But Radical Reconstruction in Texas was very brief, ending by 1873, and even though the percentage of the population that was Black was much lower in Texas than in other southern states, and thus, posed less of a threat to white supremacy, the racially-motivated statutes in post-Reconstruction Texas did not differ from those elsewhere in the South. For example, many in the Redeemer Constitutional Convention of 1875 wished to make payment of the poll tax a requirement for suffrage. As the *Houston Telegraph* put their views succinctly, "Must the low, groveling, equal-before-the-law, lazy, purchasable Negro, who pays no taxes, have the privilege of neutralizing the vote of a good citizen and taxpayer?"²⁸

32. Nevertheless, there was enough opposition to the poll tax from the representatives of poor whites, as well as Blacks, that the poll tax was not made a voting prerequisite until 1903, after

²⁶ See *Colorblind Injustice*, 26-31.

²⁷ Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 199-201, 207, 268-69; Elizabeth Nix, "What is Juneteenth? Juneteenth commemorates the effective end of slavery in the United States," *History* (updated June 17, 2021), <https://www.history.com/news/what-is-juneteenth>; Merline Pitre, "A Note on the Historiography of Blacks in the Reconstruction of Texas," *Journal of Negro History*, 66 (1981-82), 340-48.

²⁸ *Houston Telegraph*, Oct. 10, 1875, quoted in J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Univ. Press, 1974), 200.

the Greenback, Union Labor, and Populist movements, as well as the Republican Party, had been at least temporarily vanquished in the Lone Star State. The legislative sponsor of the 1903 poll tax law, Alexander Watkins Terrell, had first introduced a poll tax bill in the state legislature in 1879. Terrell personified Bourbonism – he had “learned nothing and forgotten nothing” from the Civil War, as the French Bourbons were said to have learned nothing and forgotten nothing from the French Revolution. In particular, he referred to elections not controlled by “intelligence and property” as “the most terrible enemy” and characterized the Fifteenth Amendment as “the political blunder of the century.” He also opposed any government support for elementary education.²⁹

33. Terrell was not atypical of white Texas politicians of the era. In 1904, U.S. Sen. Joseph Bailey declared that “I believe more in the purity of the Anglo-Saxon race than in the principles of democracy.” Bailey did believe in government support for white education, but he proclaimed that “nothing in the world could be more supremely foolish than to spend the people’s money in trying to educate a race of menials. . . lest I be misunderstood, I have no prejudice against the negro in his place, but I think his place is the white man’s kitchen and not the white man’s dining room.”³⁰ When referring to Blacks, newspapers used such nouns as “beast,” “fiend,” or “brute,” and such adjectives as “insolent,” “idle,” and “trifling,” and they often approved public burning or hanging as punishments for what they characterized as Black men’s proclivity to rape white women. When a crowd of 5000 in Dallas in 1910 took Allen Brooks from the Dallas County courthouse, where he was under indictment for assault, and publicly hanged him, the respectable metropolitan *Dallas Morning News* refused to condemn the lynching, explaining that many in the mob “are moved by their contempt for the delays, reversals, and failures of courts.”³¹ Lynching, the newspaper implied, was the fault of judges, not mobs.

B. Discrimination in Schools and Other Social Spaces

34. Public education had been so scandalously ignored in antebellum Texas that the Republicans who controlled the state during Radical Reconstruction considered the state as “the darkest field educationally in the United States.”³² A continuation of prewar educational practices would have doomed Blacks to a status little better than slavery. But even the 1868 Radical Republican constitution of Texas mandated school segregation. Segregation on railroads was legalized by state law in 1889 and made mandatory in 1891. Racial intermarriage, banned in 1838 and allowed by a legal decision in 1877, was again and finally banned by state law in 1881.³³ In 1916, Dallas even provided for residential segregation, block by block. Despite a contrary decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in a Louisville case, the Dallas ordinance remained on the

²⁹ All quotations and other information on the post-Reconstruction order may be found in Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Univ. Press, 1974), 196-209.

³⁰ Bailey quoted in Bruce A. Glasrud, “Child or Beast?: White Texas’ View of Blacks, 1900-1910,” *East Texas Historical Journal* 15 (1977), 38-44, at 38-39.

³¹ Glasrud, “Child or Beast?” at 40 -41.

³² Frederick Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), 157.

³³ The ban, of course, became unenforceable after the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in *Loving v. Virginia*, 388 U.S. 1 (1967).

books for 10 years, and a state law in 1927 nominally applied the block by block segregation statewide. Less nominally, a 1915 state law was interpreted as prohibiting integrated swimming pools.³⁴

35. Although there were some legal cases brought by the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in the 1930s that prohibited classifying Mexican-American children as non-white, the judges allowed school systems to segregate them based on language or migrant worker status, or on the theory that “Mexicans” had systematically different talents than Anglos and should therefore be segregated for their own good. Anglo-ruled school systems generally took advantage of such subterfuges to keep Latinos segregated through the 1940s and into the 1950s.³⁵ LULAC’s victory in the 1948 case of *Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District* led to a Texas State Board of Education regulation that reaffirmed the segregation of Blacks even as it formally prohibited segregation based on national origin. But surveys by LULAC and the G.I. Forum showed that the segregation of Mexican-American children persisted, whatever State authorities said, and the organizations had to sue again and again in the 1950s. Through the late 1960s, according to one scholar, “Promises were made to end [Mexican-American] segregation, but little was actually done.”³⁶

36. School segregation against Blacks was not abolished in practice in most of Texas until well after *Brown v. Board of Education*.³⁷ As in other southern states, years and years of legal actions were necessary to disestablish the dual school system, and even more to tear down barriers between Anglos and Latinos. After 1954, the State and its local instrumentalities in rural areas racially gerrymandered school districts and established student transfer policies that perpetuated segregation.³⁸ It chose school sites, drew attendance zones, assigned faculty and staff, and instituted transfer policies that kept Black, Anglo, and Mexican-American students in Austin and Corpus Christi separated.³⁹ Inadequate support for schools and inequality across school districts have been recurring and deeply divisive issues in Texas from the 1870s to the present.⁴⁰ But central to school equity issues was always racial inequality. Even though the legal strategy of the plaintiffs in the Edgewood School District eventually stressed wealth, rather than race, in the

³⁴ Bruce A. Glasrud, “Jim Crow’s Emergence in Texas,” *American Studies*, 15 (1974), 47-60. The Louisville case was *Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U.S. 60 (1917).

³⁵ Ariela J. Gross, “Texas Mexicans and the Politics of Whiteness,” *Law and History Review*, 21 (2003), 195-205; Rogelio Saenz, “The Latino Population of Texas, 1960-2018,” in Robert Brischetto and J. Richard Avena, *Mexican American Civil Rights in Texas* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State Univ. Press, 2021), 53-88, at 56..

³⁶ Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., “The Struggle against Separate and Unequal Schools: Middle Class Mexican Americans and the Desegregation Campaign in Texas, 1929-1957,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 23 (1983), 343-59, quote at 355.

³⁷ 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

³⁸ *U.S. v. Texas*, 321 F.Supp. 1043 (E.D. Tex. 1970).

³⁹ *U.S. v. Texas Education Agency*, 467 F.2d 848, 865 (5th Cir., 1972); *Cisneros v. Corpus Christi Independent School Dist.*, 567 F.2d 142 (6th Cir. 1972).

⁴⁰ Stephen B. Thomas and Billy Don Walker, “Texas Public School Finance,” *Journal of Education Finance*, 8 (1982), 223-81; Billy D. Walker, “Special Report: Texas School Finance Update,” *ibid.*, 10 (1985), 504-16; Allan Odden, “School Finance Reform in Kentucky, New Jersey and Texas,” *ibid.*, 18 (1993), 293-317; Catherine Clark, “Texas State Support for School Facilities, 1971 to 2001,” *ibid.*, 27 (2001), 683-99; Ken Helvey, “Texas,” *ibid.*, 43 (2018), 311-13. As Helvey notes, the Texas Supreme Court ruled on the school funding system seven times between 1984 and 2016.

case that became *San Antonio I.S.D. v. Rodriguez*,⁴¹ it was a fact that the Edgewood District was not only poor, but also approximately 90 percent Mexican-American.⁴² Texas's persistent resistance to equalizing educational spending ought to be seen as in large part a resistance to equalizing educational opportunities by race and ethnicity.⁴³

37. Because until 1921, Texas allowed "alien suffrage," that is, it allowed people to vote who merely filed legal papers indicating their intention to apply for citizenship, many Mexican citizens actually voted in Texas during this period.⁴⁴ After the increased immigration that followed the Mexican Revolution, however, discrimination against Mexican-Americans in Texas increased. As one scholar put it, by the 1920s in Texas,

White society denied to all but a very few people of Mexican descent such forms of political expression as office holding, voting, and jury service. Whites were much less willing to marry Mexican-descent women than they had been in the nineteenth century. As the Mexican Revolution prompted hundreds of thousands of Mexicans to flee to the United States, local authorities began to practice a more systematized residential and educational segregation. . . . Klansmen paraded through south Texas towns; signs reading 'No Mexicans Allowed' were displayed in numerous restaurants and other public accommodations; and municipalities established separate schools for 'Mexicans' and 'whites.'"⁴⁵

C. The White Primary in Texas

38. Perhaps no set of laws or legal cases better captures the strength and resilience of white supremacy in Texas than the waves of legal cases challenging the all-white primary that broke four times over the U.S. Supreme Court from 1927 to 1944. After the Court ruled in *Nixon v. Herndon* that a state law that explicitly banned non-whites from Democratic primaries violated the equal protection clause, Texas repealed the law and allowed the Democratic State Executive Committee to set its own rules banning Blacks. This gambit was then challenged in *Nixon v. Condon*, the second case brought by the NAACP. In *Condon*, the Court refused the gambit and again ruled against the white primary. In a third case, *Grovey v. Townsend*, argued by a pair of private lawyers, however, the Court allowed an effective delegation of voting rules to the Democratic Party's state convention. Finally, the post-New Deal Court, again in an NAACP

⁴¹ 400 US. 1 (1973).

⁴² Paul A. Sracic, *San Antonio v. Rodriguez and the Pursuit of Equal Education: The Debate over Discrimination and School Funding* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2006).

⁴³ Connections between educational segregation by race and wealth are stressed in many publications. See, e.g., Marta Tienda, "Thirteenth Annual Brown Lecture in Education Research. Public Education and the Social Contract: Restoring the Promise in an Age of Diversity and Division," *Educational Researcher*, 46 (2017), 271-83. On persistent funding inequality by race, see, e.g., "The Persisting Myth That Black and White Schools are Equally Funded," *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, No. 22 (Winter, 1998-1999), 17-20.

⁴⁴ See, e.g., Gregg Cantrell, "'Our Very Pronounced Theory of Equal rights to All': Race, Citizenship, and Populism in the South Texas Borderlands," *Journal of American History*, 100 (2013), 663-90.

⁴⁵ Benjamin H. Johnson, "The Cosmic Race in Texas: Racial Fusion, White Supremacy, and Civil rights Politics," *Journal of American History*, 98 (2011), 404-19, quote at 407.

case, *Smith v. Allwright*, abolished the white primary once and for all.⁴⁶ The pattern of replacing one discriminatory law or practice with another in the white primary cases was so familiar to civil rights advocates that it helped inspire Section 5, the preclearance section, of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

D. Texas and the Voting Rights Act, 1965-75

39. Texas was not a “covered jurisdiction” under the initial coverage scheme of Section 4 of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, because Texas had no literacy test, which was part of the definition of the coverage formula. It therefore did not have to submit changes in its election laws for preclearance to the Department of Justice or the District Court of the District of Columbia before the laws could be put into effect, as six southern states and part of North Carolina did. Texas did, however, have a poll tax, which was widely understood to have had a disproportionately disfranchising effect on minority groups.⁴⁷ In 1965, liberals on the Senate Judiciary Committee initially attempted to ban poll taxes everywhere, but in a compromise, Congress finally settled on directing the Attorney General to bring lawsuits to have them declared unconstitutional in the four states where they remained. The Texas case, styled *U.S. v. Texas*, was decided in 1966.⁴⁸ To replace the poll tax, the Texas Legislature quickly passed and the state’s voters ratified a constitutional amendment requiring annual voter registration with a four-month window for registration that closed on Jan. 31. This Texas version of Mississippi’s massive resistance⁴⁹ was overturned in a lawsuit brought by private Corpus Christi lawyers in 1971. That court concluded that the annual registration requirement disfranchised over a million Texans.⁵⁰

40. Vote dilution in Texas was also challenged, again by private parties, not the U.S. government, in the early 1970s in what became one of the most important vote dilution cases ever, *Graves v. Barnes*.⁵¹ Texas state legislators from Dallas and Bexar (San Antonio) Counties were elected in multimember districts in which, a three-judge court ruled, endorsements by white

⁴⁶ Details of and tactics in the cases of *Nixon v. Herndon*, 273 U.S. 536 (1927), *Nixon v. Condon*, 286 U.S. 73 (1932), *Grovey v. Townsend*, 295 U.S. 45 (1935), and *Smith v. Allwright*, 321 U.S. 649 (1944) are described in Charles L. Zelden, *The Battle for the Black Ballot: Smith v. Allwright and the Defeat of the Texas All-White Primary* (Lawrence, Kansas: Univ. Press of Kansas, 2004).

⁴⁷ See, e.g., (Former Texas Secretary of State) Bob Bullock to Rep. Barbara Jordan, April 18, 1975, reprinted in “Extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Constitutional rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee on S. 407, S. 903, S. 1297, S. 1409 and S. 1443, 94th Congress, April 8, 9, 10, 22, 29, 30; May 1, 1975,” hereinafter referred to as 1975 Senate Hearings, at 247-48.

⁴⁸ 252 F. Supp. 234 (W.D. Tex. 1966), aff’d 384 U.S. 155 (1966). For congressional actions and discussion, see S. Rept. 89-162, 32-35; H. Rept. 89-439, 4, 19-22; H. Rept. 89-711, 6-7.

⁴⁹ See Frank R. Parker, *Black Votes Count: Political Empowerment in Mississippi after 1965* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1990), 34-78.

⁵⁰ *Beare v. Smith*, 321 F.Supp. 1100, 1108 (S.D. Tex. 1971), aff’d aff’d sub nom. *Beare v. Briscoe*, 498 F.2d 244 (5th Cir. 1974). For discussion of these events, see 1975 Senate Hearings, at 458 (statement of George Korbel).

⁵¹ 343 F.Supp. 704 (W.D. Tex. 1972) (three-judge court), partially rev’d and remanded sub nom. *White v. Regester* 412 U.S. 755 (1973), 422 U.S. 935 (June 30, 1975), further proceedings sub nom. *Graves v. Barnes*, 378 F. Supp. 640 (W.D. Tex. 1974), 408 F. Supp. 1050 (W.D. Tex. 1976), 446 F. Supp. 560 (W.D. Tex. 1977).

slating groups effectively determined the nominees. This at-large system discriminated against Black and Mexican-American voters, and any justification for the multimember system collapsed because of the fact that voters in the other major Texas city, Houston, were allowed to elect their legislators in single-member districts. On remand from the Supreme Court, the same three-judge court heard extensive evidence and ruled seven more multimember legislative districts illegal because they discriminated against Blacks and/or Latinos.⁵²

41. One of the lawyers for the plaintiffs in *Graves* spread much of the evidence developed for the case before the Senate when it was considering expanding Section 5 to Texas in 1975,⁵³ and he noted extensive ongoing, but not yet resolved litigation against at-large elections for local offices throughout Texas.⁵⁴ He went on to catalogue a large variety of abuses in Texas elections, some of which were documented in legal cases, and some were simply widely known: racial gerrymanders, the imposition of majority vote or numbered place requirements, discriminatory annexations, last-minute changes of polling places (for instance, placing a polling place for a majority-Black precinct in a segregated white hunting club), and registration forms and ballots available only in English. Several of these laws had been adopted recently, in the face of growing political participation by Black and Mexican-American citizens.⁵⁵ The poll tax, registration, and at-large cases and the Mississippi-like imposition of new laws in apparent reaction to minority activism made it difficult to argue that Texas was different from the other states that had been covered by Section 5. As Rep. Barbara Jordan of Houston summed up recent litigation in her testimony before the Senate, “The entire history of voting legislation in Texas has been one of reluctant acquiescence to federal court orders.”⁵⁶

42. Faced with the prospect of becoming a covered jurisdiction, Texas scrambled to change its laws, even drafting, without consulting MALDEF,⁵⁷ what was termed the Texas Voting Rights Act, which provided for bilingual election materials. The bill, S.B. 165, passed.⁵⁸ Altogether, there had been 60 bills dealing with elections submitted to the Texas legislature during the 1975 legislative session.⁵⁹ One of the most active supporters of the federal Voting Rights Act, Sen. Birch Bayh, suggested that these bills, especially the Texas Voting Rights Act, represented little “more than an effort to get the [federal] Voting Rights Act derailed . . .”⁶⁰ Texas newspaper reports echoed Bayh’s charge.⁶¹

43. Based largely on evidence about racial discrimination in Texas elections, Congress in 1975 extended the coverage formula under Section 4 to include areas in which Latino, Asian, Native

⁵² *Graves v. Barnes*, 378 F. Supp. 640. (W.D. Tex. 1974).

⁵³ 1975 Senate Hearings, at 452-61, 466-87.

⁵⁴ 1975 Senate hearings, at 465.

⁵⁵ 1975 Senate Hearings, at 239 (testimony of Rep. Barbara Jordan), 285 (testimony of Texas Secretary of State Mark White), and 473-82 (testimony of Korbel).

⁵⁶ 1975 Senate Hearings, at 246.

⁵⁷ 1975 Senate Hearings, at 290.

⁵⁸ 1975 Senate Hearings, at 302.

⁵⁹ 1975 Senate Hearings, at 268-90 (colloquy between Texas Secretary of State Mark White and Sens. John Tunney and Birch Bayh); *id.*, 296-367 (copies of bills and legislative analysis).

⁶⁰ 1975 Senate Hearings, at 454.

⁶¹ 1975 Senate Hearings, at 744 (statement of Houston City Controller Lionel Castillo).

American, or Alaskan Native “language minorities” constituted 5% of the citizen population, which in 1972 printed election material only in English, and where turnout in the 1972 presidential election had been less than 50%.⁶² This expansion enabled courts to discover a great deal of voting discrimination that had been legally invisible before. From 1965 through 1974, minorities won only 10 voting rights cases in Texas. After the expansion of the coverage scheme of Section 4 in 1975, they were successful in 115 instances from 1975 through 1979. Four of the cases in the first decade of the Voting Rights Act in Texas involved Latinos. Sixty of the Texas cases in the five years after the 1975 expansion concerned Latinos.⁶³

44. Section 5 immediately proved its effectiveness in Texas. Reversing its stance in considering the “Texas Voting Rights Act,” the 1975 Texas Legislature passed S.B. 300, requiring a purge and re-registration of every voter. Blacks and Mexican-Americans sued and obtained a preliminary injunction against the law from a three-judge federal panel, but a final ruling in the case was rendered unnecessary when the Department of Justice issued its first Section 5 objection against a Texas state law.⁶⁴

E. A Quarter of All Voting Rights Violations from 1957 through 2020 Took Place in Texas

45. Figure 1 shows that 1,021 (24.5%) of all 4,170 voting rights actions won by minorities anywhere in the U.S. from 1957 through 2020 involved Texas election laws and practices – by far the most of any state.⁶⁵ Legally proven instances of election discrimination were massively disproportionate in Texas. In 1990, at the approximate midpoint of the 1957-2020 period, the population of the U.S. was 248.7 million, and that of Texas, 16,986,510,⁶⁶ so that Texas’s share of the U.S. population was 6.8%, while its share of voting rights actions was 24.5%.

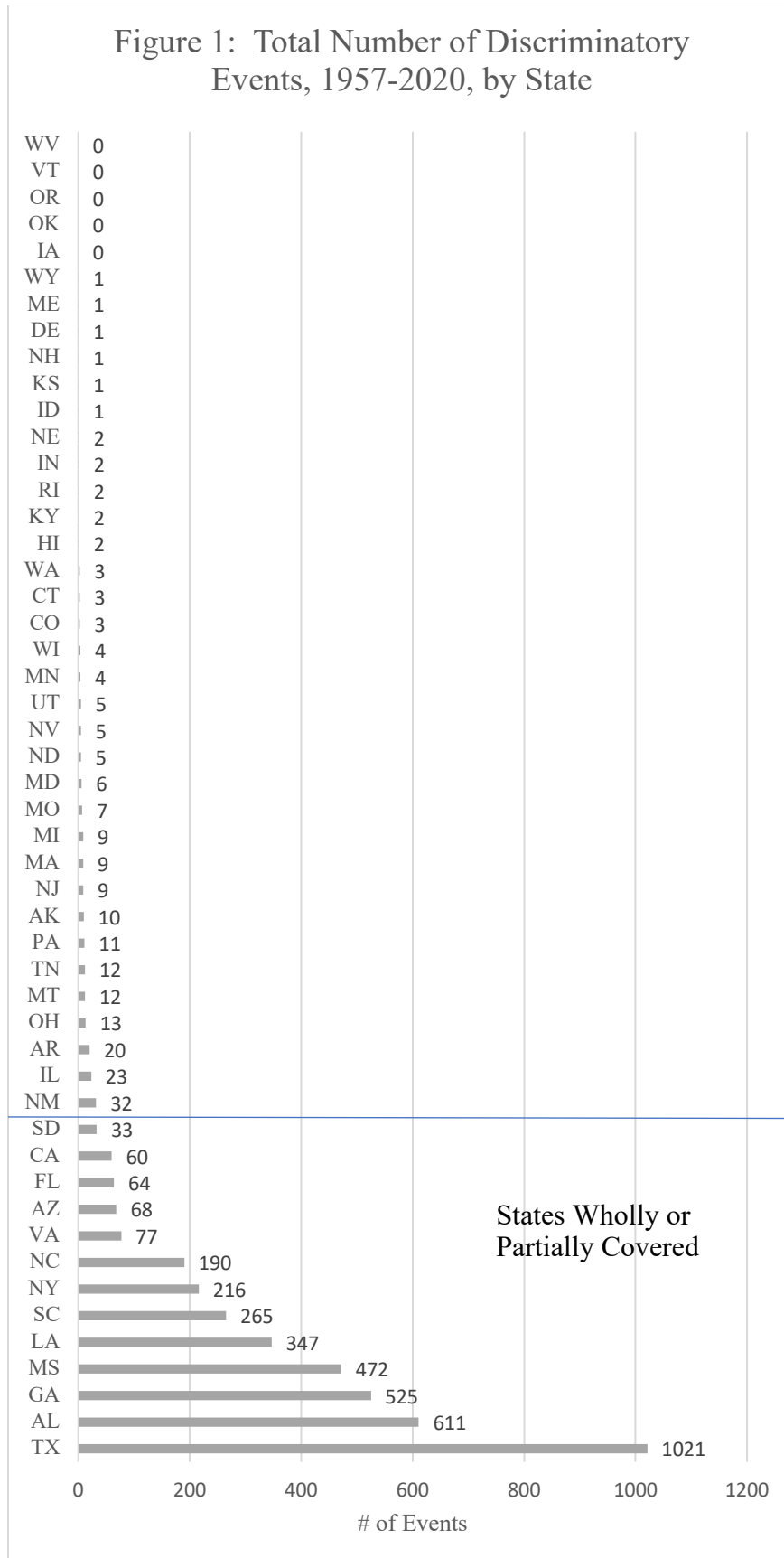
⁶² H. Rept. 94-196, at 23-24.

⁶³ These figures come from my database on over 4000 Section 5 objections and “more information requests,” Section 2 and constitutional cases, and settlements and cases from all states from 1957 through 2020. For a description and applications of the database, see “Do the Facts of Voting Rights Support Chief Justice Roberts’s Opinion in *Shelby County*?” *Trans-Atlantica*, 1 | 2015, available at <https://transatlantica.revues.org/7462>; “Testimony of Professor J. Morgan Kousser Before the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties of the U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary. Legislative Proposals to Strengthen the Voting Rights Act, Oct. 17, 2019, <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/JU/JU10/20191017/110084/HHRG-116-JU10-Wstate-KousserJ-20191017.pdf>.

⁶⁴ No byline, “Renewal form ban is affirmed,” *Austin American-Statesman*, Nov. 15, 1975, p. 6; Jon Ford, “Judges delay voter registration mailing,” *Austin American-Statesman*, Nov. 26, 1975, p. 1; No byline, “Texas officials say vote opinion ‘unclear,’” *Austin American-Statesman*, Dec. 11, 1975, p. 1; J. Stanley Pottinger to Secretary of State Mark White, Dec. 10, 1975 (objection # X0335), <https://www.justice.gov/crt/voting-determination-letters-texas>. *Flowers v. Wiley* evinced no recorded opinion, but only a decision about attorneys’ fees, 675 F.2d 704 (5th Cir. 1982).

⁶⁵ The graph is based on information in my database, referred to in n.62. By “discriminatory events” in Figure 1, I mean legal actions won by minorities.

⁶⁶ <https://www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/c2kbr01-2.pdf>; and <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2002/demo/POP-twps0056.pdf>.



46. A few examples may give Figure 1 specificity. Before the decision was vacated after *Shelby County v. Holder*, the District Court of the District of Columbia found the 2011 Texas voter ID law would have a retrogressive effect under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act.⁶⁷ After a district court in Texas found that the same voter ID law had a discriminatory intent, as well as effect, a panel of the 5th Circuit partially reversed the trial court and remanded the case to it. Various decisions, appeals, stays, and rehearings ensued. Eventually, the 5th Circuit issued a decision holding that the voter ID law had a discriminatory effect.⁶⁸ In January, 2019, then Acting Secretary of State Dave Whitley sent Texas county election supervisors a list of 95,000 registered voters who had apparently not been citizens at the time when they registered with the Department of Public Safety. Further examination showed that many had become citizens and that the list was otherwise hopelessly flawed.⁶⁹ A furor, much backtracking by the Secretary of State's office, and lawsuits by MALDEF, Texas LULAC, Demos, the ACLU, the Texas Civil Rights Project, the Campaign Legal Center, and the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law followed, a settlement was reached, and the purging process was extensively reformed. Claims by conservatives that extensive fraud had finally been located were embarrassingly withdrawn, while Latino and other civil rights organizations condemned the error-filled purge as a "witch hunt" that targeted Latinos.⁷⁰

47. But 984 of the 1021 voting rights actions in Texas, came not at the state, but at the county or municipal or special district level. Of the 984, 358 concerned at-large elections, which make it much more difficult for minorities to win where there is racial polarization. Another 193 successfully challenged districting plans as racially discriminatory against racial or ethnic minorities. A further 147 involved vote denial, including polling place changes, voting materials available only in English, and anything else that affected individuals' right to vote. The rest, many of which were Section 5 preclearance denials, related to any of a myriad of election law provisions and administrative actions that have real and sometimes idiosyncratic effects on minority participation in politics. The very large number of cases, preclearance denials, and settlements in lieu of going to court demonstrate the scope and depth of racial discrimination in Texas political history over the last 64 years.

⁶⁷ *Texas v. Holder*, 888 F. Supp. 2d 113 (2012). Because it found a discriminatory effect, the court did not have to reach the question of a discriminatory intent. *Shelby County v. Holder*, 570 U.S. 529 (2013). Because *Texas v. Holder* was vacated, it is not counted as a minority success in my database.

⁶⁸ The complicated history is summarized in *Veasey v. Abbott*, 830 F.3d 216 (5th Cir. 2016).

⁶⁹ James Barragan, Robert T. Garrett, and Julieta Chiquillo, "Tens of thousands removed from potential non-citizen voters list after counties find flawed data. More than half of the supposedly suspect names in Harris, Williamson counties – and nearly one-fifth in Dallas – are no longer being pursued, officials say," Dallas Morning News, Jan. 30, 2019, <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/politics/2019/01/31/tens-of-thousands-removed-from-potential-non-citizen-voters-list-after-counties-find-flawed-data/>; Alexa Ura, "Texas will end its botched voter citizenship review and rescind its list of flagged voters. The state had questioned the citizenship status of almost 100,000 registered voters, but many on the list turned out to be naturalized citizens." *Texas Tribune*, April 26, 2019, <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/04/26/texas-voting-rights-groups-win-settlement-secretary-of-state/>.

⁷⁰ The case is *Texas LULAC v. Whitley*, SA-19-CA-074-FB (W.D. Tex. 2019). The complaints, settlement, a narrative, and other documents are available at <https://www.demos.org/case/move-texas-civic-fund-et-al-v-whitley-et-al> and <https://campaignlegal.org/cases-actions/texas-lulac-et-al-v-secretary-state-david-whitley>.

F. Racial Discrimination in Texas Redistricting, 1971-2011

48. For the purposes of the present case, it is important to pay special attention to the history of racial discrimination in the statewide redistricting process for three reasons. First, that history suggests that it would be a surprising departure to find that Texas did NOT discriminate in the 2021 redistricting. Second, the tactics of discrimination employed in past redistrictings, especially that in 2011, may inform the way observers, including judges, should interpret lines drawn in 2021. Third, the sort of evidence that emerged to support findings of discrimination in the past may help us interpret the very sparse qualitative and potentially concealed evidence of discrimination in this round of redistricting – legislators may avoid revealing their discriminatory motives in the same way that they did before.

49. Every Texas statewide redistricting plan since 1971 has been challenged in court, and those in every decade have been found violative of either the Voting Rights Act or the 14th and/or 15th amendments by courts or the Justice Department, an indication of racial discrimination in election arrangements so long and regular that each legislative session at which redistricting is considered has become merely a staged drama preparatory to the real contest in the courts and/or the Department of Justice. In the 1970s, as noted above, at-large districts in nine urban counties were ruled illegal because of racial discrimination. In addition, the Department of Justice objected to state legislative districts in Jefferson, Tarrant, and Nueces Counties.⁷¹ In 1982, the Department of Justice objected to state legislative districts in Bexar, Dallas, and Harris Counties, as well as to the congressional redistricting.⁷² In 1991, the Justice Department once more objected to the state legislative redistricting plans.⁷³ Again in 2001, the Department objected to the state House redistricting plan.⁷⁴

50. Two years later, in a mid-term redistricting – a practice virtually never employed in the U.S. since the 1890s – Texas Republicans substantially redrew the state’s congressional districts. Although the Supreme Court rejected a partisan gerrymandering claim and one from Black plaintiffs, the majority, in an opinion by Justice Anthony Kennedy, found that Texas violated Latino rights under Section 2 of the VRA when it revised congressional district 23 in a manner that “bears the mark of intentional discrimination.”⁷⁵ In 2011, obviously fearing that the Department of Justice would not approve its state legislative or congressional plans,⁷⁶ Texas sought preclearance from the District Court of the District of Columbia. But that court found that Texas had failed to prove that its state and congressional plans had neither a discriminatory effect nor a discriminatory purpose.⁷⁷ In a separate action, a three-judge panel of the U.S.

⁷¹ See objections X0164 and X0614 (both 1976), <https://www.justice.gov/crt/voting-determination-letters-texas>.

⁷² See the discussion in *Terrazas v. Clements*, 537 F. Supp. 514 (N.D. Tex. 1982) and objections 81-0306 and 81-0298, <https://www.justice.gov/crt/voting-determination-letters-texas>.

⁷³ See objections 91-3395 and 92-0070, <https://www.justice.gov/crt/voting-determination-letters-texas>.

⁷⁴ Objection 2001-2430, <https://www.justice.gov/crt/voting-determination-letters-texas>.

⁷⁵ *League of United Latin Am. Citizens v. Perry*, 548 U.S. 399, 440 (2006).

⁷⁶ Aaron Blake, “Department of Justice to fight Texas redistricting map,” *Washington Post*, Sept. 19, 2011, **Error! Main Document Only.** http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/post/departments-of-justice-to-fight-texas-redistricting-map/2011/09/19/gIQA5RdQgK_print.html.

⁷⁷ *Texas v. U.S.*, 887 F.Supp. 2d 133 (D.D.C. 2012). Like the voter ID case discussed above, this decision was vacated by the Supreme Court after its decision in *Shelby County v. Holder*.

District Court for the Western District of Texas ultimately concluded that the plans that Texas drew in 2011 had had both the intent and effect of discriminating on the basis of race.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, under pressure from the litigation, Texas drew new congressional and state house plans that altered the initial districts in the Dallas/Ft. Worth Metroplex. Latino voters challenged state House districts in Tarrant County, and both a three-judge panel and the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the challenge.⁷⁹

51. The evidence from the 2011 redistricting that was most strikingly mimicked in 2021 comes from the congressional districts initially drawn for the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex.⁸⁰ Figure 1A shows the “lightning bolt” that split Congressional District 12 (CD12), and figure 1B superimposes the concentration of Latino voters over the CDs in that part of Tarrant County. The combination of the two figures demonstrates a racial motive in the district dividing lines – those who drew the Republican CD12 evidently wanted to avoid adding the Latinos who would have been in the district had it been joined in a more regular polygon. As drawn, CD12 had a combined Black and Latino citizen voting age population of 27.5% in 2010.

⁷⁸ *Perez v. Abbott*, 250 F. Supp. 3d 123 (W.D. Tex. 2017); 253 F. Supp. 3d 864 (W.D. Texas, May 2, 2017). The partial curing of the 2011 plans by the interim plans complicated the case further and resulted in a Supreme Court reversal of the three-judge court’s 2017 actions in overturning the interim plans. *Abbott v. Perez*, 138 S. Ct. 2305 (2018).

⁷⁹ *Abbott v. Perez*, 138 S. Ct. 2305, 2334-35 (2018).

⁸⁰ The 2011 maps and demographic statistics come from my report in *MALC v. State of Texas*. C.A. No. 11-cv-0361 OLG-JES-XR (W.E. Tex. 2012).

Figure 1A: The CD6 “Lightning Bolt” Splitting CD12 in 2011

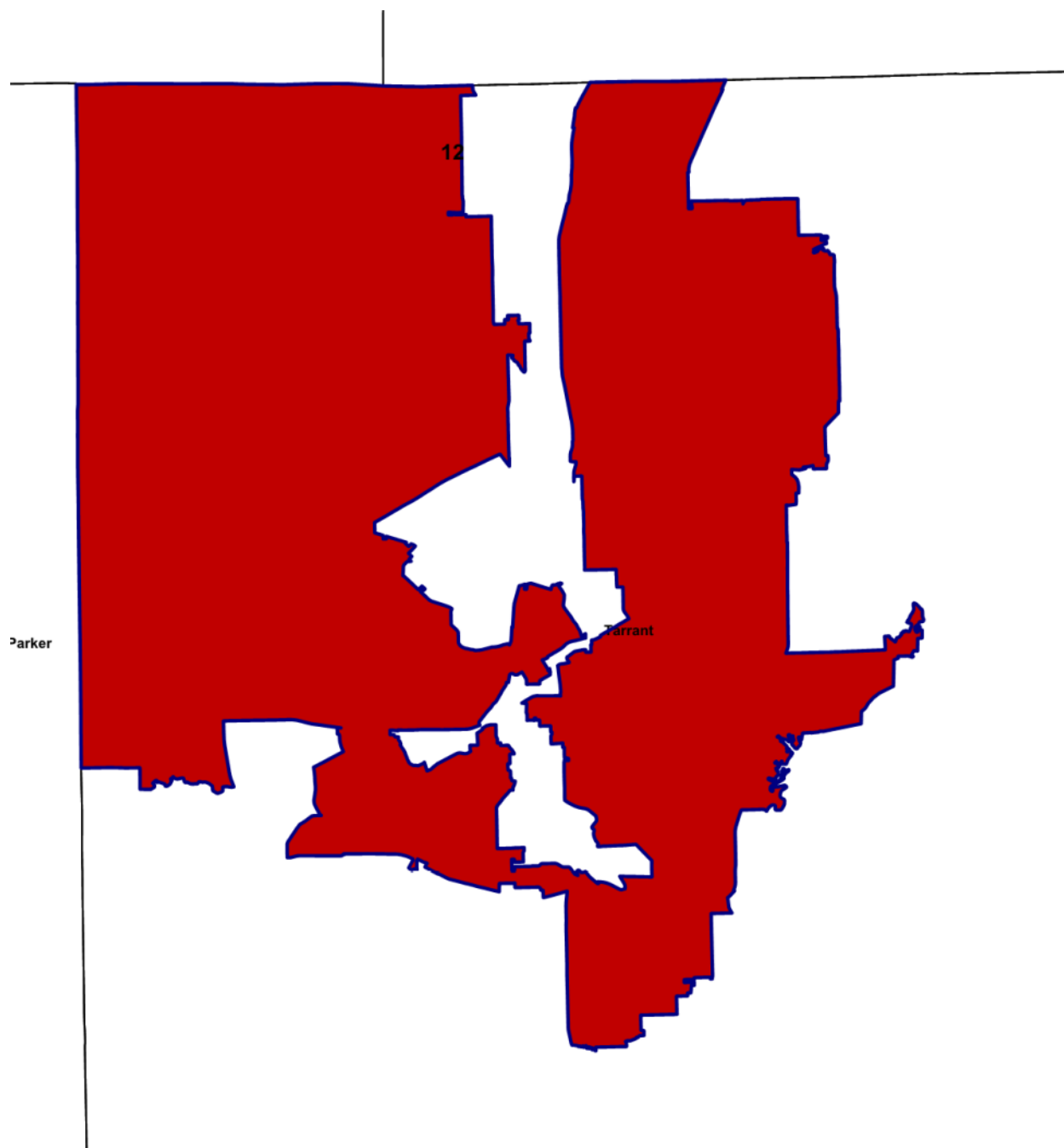


Figure 1B: The Latino Population Concentrations That CD12 Shunned

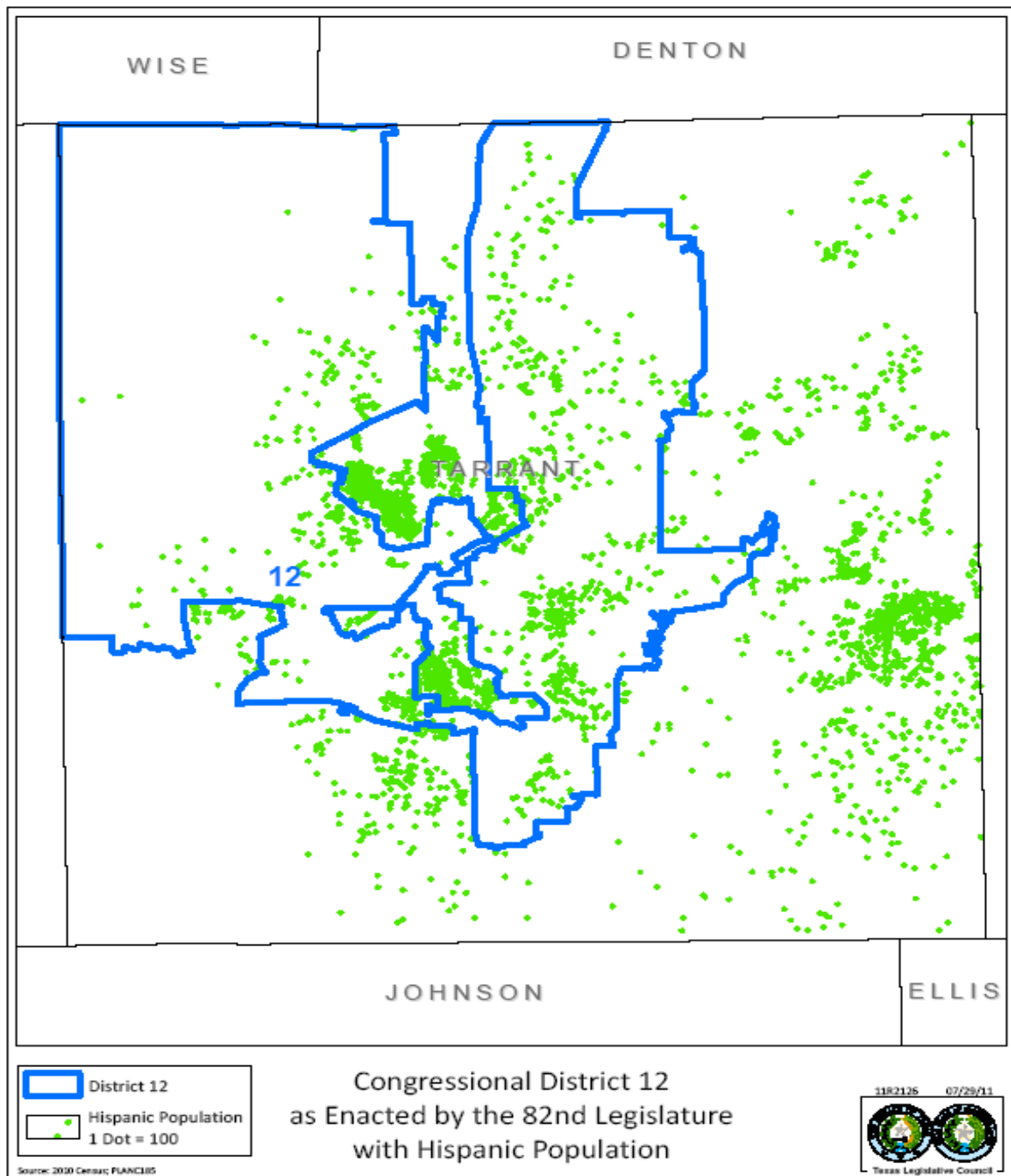
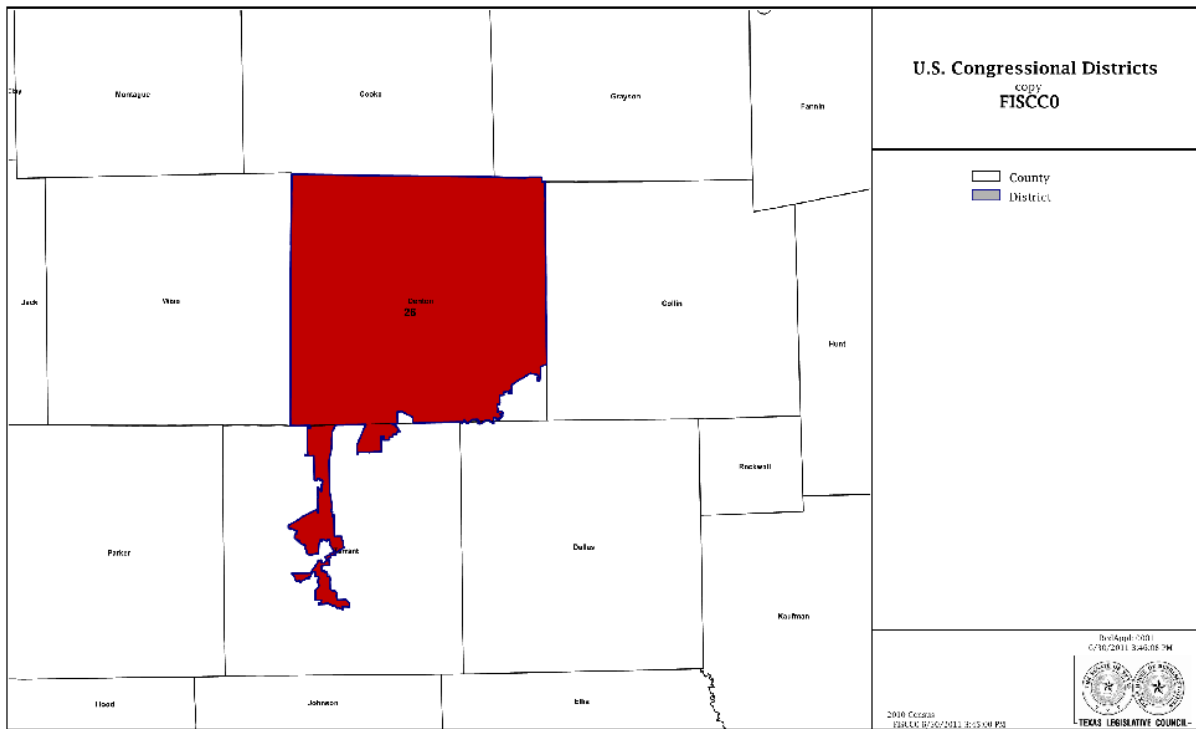


Figure 1C: CD26 Evidently Tacked on the Lightning Bolt to Ensure that Latinos Could Not Carry a District in North Texas



52. Figure 1C illustrates where the Latinos in the lightning bolt were placed. They were diluted in a sea of Denton County Anglos, who guaranteed that CD26 would remain safely Republican and safely controlled by an electorate in which Blacks and Latinos comprised only 22% of the citizen voting age population.

53. Similar tactics – diluting central city minority political power by thrusting long arms of districts from suburban and rural counties into urban counties – account for the tell-tale shapes of congressional districts 6 and 33 in 2011. Figure 2a depicts CD6, anchored in Ellis and Navarro Counties, pushing jagged arms into Dallas and Tarrant, and Figure 2b superimposes the district outlines on the concentrations of African-American and Latino population in the area. Darker portions of Figure 2b represent higher percentages of blacks and Hispanics. It is clear from the maps that CD6 cracked the minority areas, but was carefully drawn not to take in so many minorities as to threaten Anglo control of the district. Figure 2c shows District 33 putting a fist into Tarrant County from the Parker County west, and Figure 2d again superimposes the district on the black and Hispanic population concentrations. Here, the evident purpose was to avoid minority areas to keep the new district very safely Anglo. Together, the maps make clear how carefully CD6 added, but diluted Latinos and how precisely CD33 avoided them. The result was that CD6 had a BHCVP (Black and Hispanic citizen voting age population) minority of 37.6% and CD33, a BHCVP minority of 27.1%.

Figure 2a: The Outline of CD6 in 2011 Shows the Suburban Incision into the Metroplex

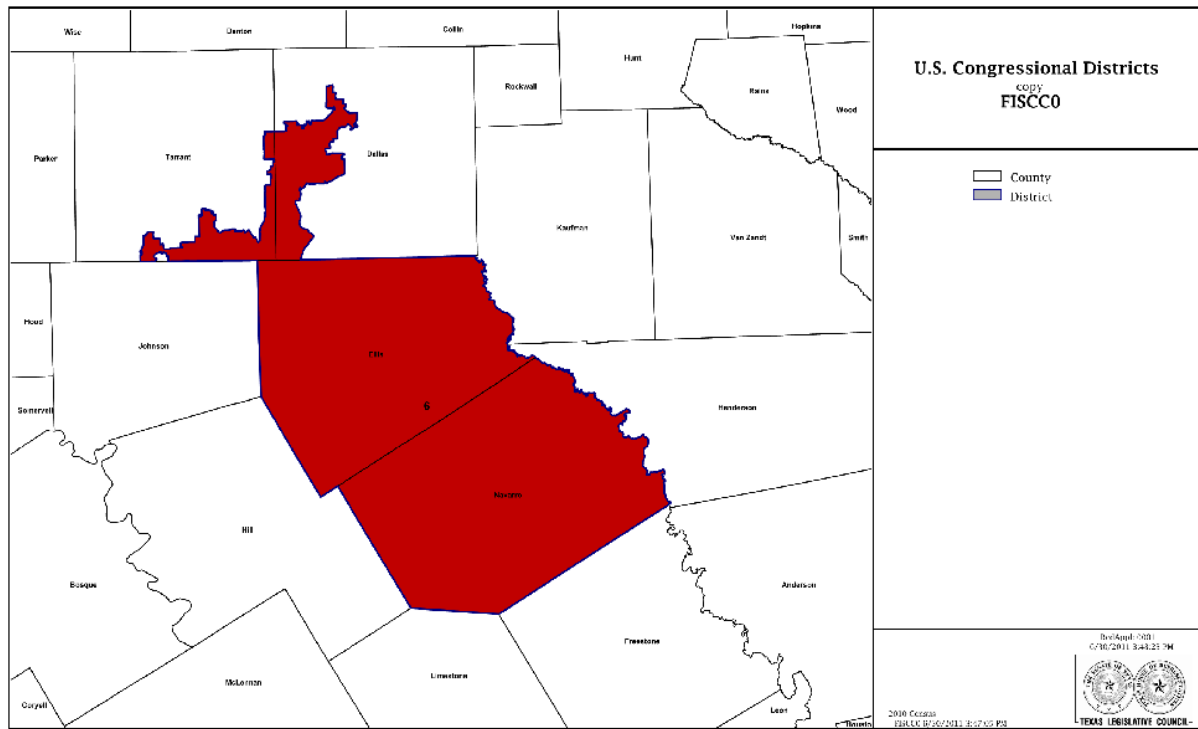


Figure 2b: Black + Latino Concentrations in the Metroplex
and the Outline of CD 6

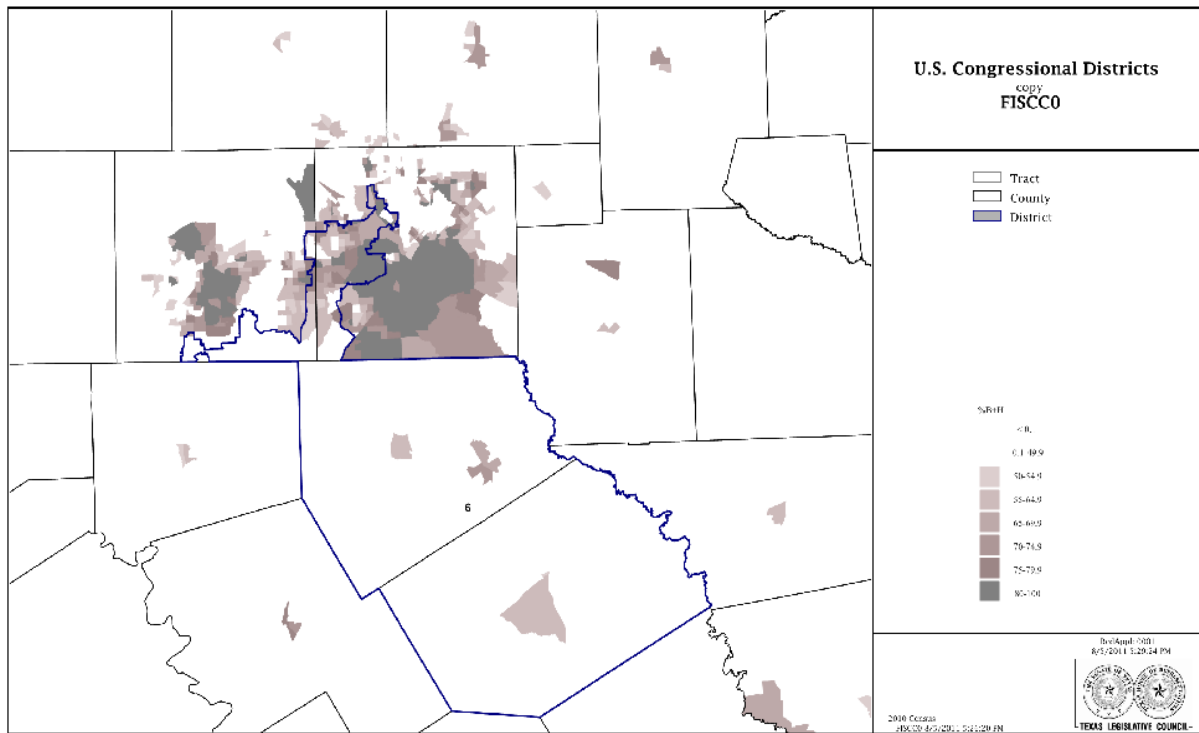


Figure 2C: The CD33 “Fist” in 2011 Reaches into the Metroplex

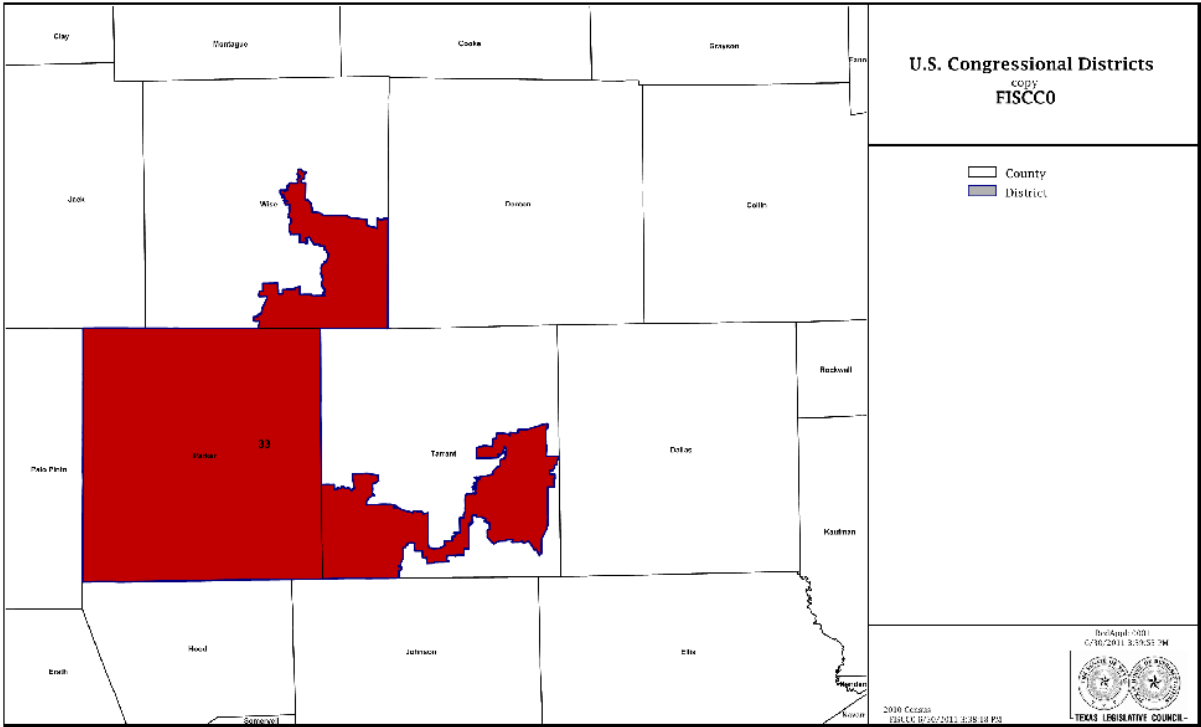
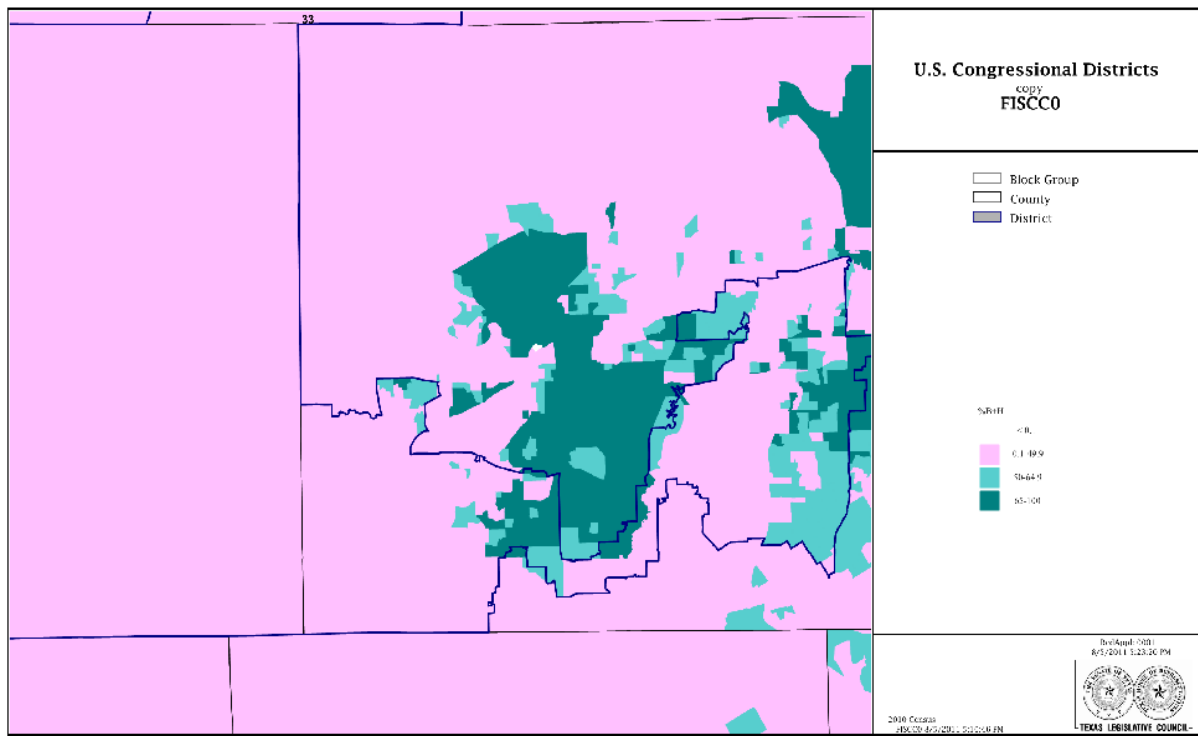


Figure 2d: CD33 Extracted Just Enough Minorities from the Metroplex in 2011



54. Beyond the tactics used in 2011 demonstrated by the maps above, the State's experiences in the 2011 litigation likely shaped the behavior of redistricting leaders in 2021, which in turn restricted evidence of discriminatory intent available in the records of the redistricting committees or on the floor of the legislature, as well as communications with those who actually drew the lines or, as lawyers, advised on the legality of certain decisions or methods. During the 2011 redistricting, three employees of the Legislature, Ryan Downton, Michael Interiano, and Eric Opiela, played major roles in drawing the maps, and they sometimes communicated by email. Apparently because they were employees of the Legislature, some of their communications were made available during legal discovery and they were deposed in often suggestive detail. Extensive evidence concerning the roles of Downton, Interiano, and Opiela was presented to the three-judge court, which reflected it in its opinions. In one opinion, Downton's name receives 155 mentions and Interiano's and Opiela's, 14 each. Most notoriously, Opiela sent an email to Interiano and Lisa Kaufman discussing a "nudge factor" that would allow districts to seem to be drawn to increase the opportunities for Latinos to elect candidates of their choice while in fact preserving Anglo/Republican control. It is worth quoting the court's treatment of this email and the connection of this evidence to a finding of racial discrimination.

In addition, the evidence shows that mapdrawers were more than just "aware of" race; they often referred to race in discussing the drawing of districts, they paid close attention to the racial makeup of all districts, and they engaged in discussions about how to gain

political advantage by disadvantaging Hispanic voters through use of the "nudge factor." *E.g.*, Tr912 (Downton) (mapdrawers "were always conscious of the [race] numbers, and so we would look at them throughout the process before moving forward with the map"); D-122 (Hanna memos on House proposals, which focused on percentages of racial minority populations within minority districts); US-75 (Opiela "nudge factor" email to Interiano and Lisa Kaufman proposing to manipulate districts to increase Hispanic population metrics while keeping SSVR and Hispanic turnout low); US-76 (Opiela email to Lamar Smith and Interiano, later forwarded to Denise Davis, (Speaker Straus's Chief of Staff) referring to having to "pick up Anglo voters" "to avoid packing claims on Hispanic districts"). Although Opiela, who originally proposed the "nudge factor," may not have had as significant a role in the ultimate specific lines in the plan as Plaintiffs contend, he was undoubtedly an insider to the process—he was friends with mapdrawers; he was frequently in the office, even referred to as "frequent flier" by the committee clerk Bonnie Bruce; he made requests and gave input; and he engaged in numerous discussions with mapdrawers Downton and Interiano.⁸¹

55. Knowing, as all Texas legislators had since 1971, that the redistricting maps and everything concerning their production and the choices mapdrawers made about district lines would surely be litigated in federal court, the leaders on redistricting in the Legislature in 2021 made sure that no "nudge factor" or similar email would surface this time around, and that the vast majority of the decisions on district lines would be made offstage, protected, as much as possible, by attorney/client privilege.

VII. The Historical Context of the 2021 Redistricting

56. The second factor is the historical context, especially the sequence of events, which is important for what it reveals about the general attitudes and interests of decisionmakers. Laws passed during periods of racial turmoil, such as the First Reconstruction or its aftermath, or the Civil Rights Era, or after an upsurge in minority voting or minority candidate success, must be viewed with suspicion. Although Texas has not elected a Democratic governor since Anne Richards in 1990, and although the legislative and congressional delegations had been overwhelmingly Republican since the mid-decade redistricting of the 2000s and especially since the Tea Party election of 2010, the Republican Party suffered some setbacks and many close calls in 2018 and 2020.

57. The 2018 election, Sen. John Cornyn declared, was "a wake-up call" for Texas Republicans.⁸² "Is GOP losing grip on Texas?" asked a *Dallas Morning News* headline.⁸³ In the 2014 elections, Texas had the lowest turnout of any state in the country, but the state's 63% increase in turnout from 2014 to 2018 was sixth in the nation. It was the highest turnout in the

⁸¹ *Perez v. Abbott*, 253 F.Supp. 3d 864, 950 (W.D. Tex. 2017) (three-judge court).

⁸² Gromer Jeffers Jr., "GOP ponders path after 'wake-up call' / Lost, close races suggest hard-liners could be at risk," *Dallas Morning News*, Nov. 9, 2018, p. 1A.

⁸³ Todd J. Gillman, "Is GOP losing grip on Texas? Suburban shifts, mixed views on Trump narrow party's edge," *Dallas Morning News*, Nov. 11, 2018, p. 1A.

state in a midterm election since 1970.⁸⁴ Despite spending \$4 million in 42 candidate races in 2018, the right-wing political action committee Empower Texans won only 14, and several of their candidates who had defeated more moderate Republicans in primaries lost to Democrats in the general elections.⁸⁵ Not only did Democratic senate candidate Beto O'Rourke lose to incumbent Sen. Ted Cruz by only 3% and the less-heralded Democratic candidates for Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General lose by only 5% and 3%, respectively, but Democrats also picked up 12 seats in the Texas House and 2 in the Senate. Half of the House and both of the Senate losses for the Republicans came in the suburbs of the Dallas/Fort Worth Metroplex. Anticipating news stories after the 2020 census,⁸⁶ an article explaining the 2018 election results pointed to "the shifting demographics across the state as typically conservative suburban areas start to have more ethnic and economic diversity."⁸⁷

58. Although Republicans had sought to end straight-ticket voting, which had long been allowed in Texas, a last-minute amendment to the 2017 law delayed its implementation until 2020.⁸⁸ Taking advantage of the opportunity to vote for all down-ticket contests with one checkmark, Democrats swept partisan judgeship races in the Dallas area for the first time in 26 years and elected a full slate of new Black female judges in Harris County who ran under the banner of "Black Girl Magic."⁸⁹ The *Dallas Morning News* suggested that Republicans should "choose pragmatism over partisanship" or risk becoming "more accustomed to losing."⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Maggie Astor and Liam Stack, "Midterm turnout way, way up/ Texas among states with big increases; complete data months away," *Dallas Morning News*, Nov. 11, 2018, p. 2A, reprinted from *New York Times*; Elbert Wang, "Texas saw the nation's sixth-highest turnout increase, but still lagged behind most other states/ Voter turnout in the 2018 Texas midterm elections increased by 18 percentage points compared with the previous midterms, according to data from the United States Elections Project," *Texas Tribune*, Dec. 7, 2018, <https://www.texastribune.org/2018/12/07/texas-voter-turnout-sixth-highest-increase-2018-midterms/>; Jonathan Silver, "Texas midterm voter turnout highest since 1970," *Austin American-Statesman*, Nov. 7, 2018, <https://www.statesman.com/story/news/politics/elections/2018/11/07/texas-midterm-voter-turnout-highest-since-1970/8860862007/>.

⁸⁵ Eva-Marie Ayala, "\$4M spent, but few wins/ Did GOP advocacy group's losses result from tilt too far right?" *Dallas Morning News*, Nov. 10, 2018, p. 1A.

⁸⁶ Alexa Ura and Mandi Cai, "With surgical precision, Republicans draw two congressional districts that dilute power of Hispanic and Asian voters/ The GOP is losing its hold on suburbs of Dallas and Fort Worth as they grow more diverse. Two proposed districts show how far the party is reaching to entrench rural, white electoral power." *Texas Tribune*, Oct. 15, 2021, <https://www.texastribune.org/2021/10/15/texas-redistricting-dallas-fort-worth/>.

⁸⁷ Robert T. Garrett and James Barragan, "O'Rourke effect drives pickups/ Democrats gain 12 in House, but what will the impact be?" *Dallas Morning News*, Nov. 8, 2018, p. 1B; "Elections '18 Results," *ibid.*, Nov. 8, 2018, p. 11A; Eva-Marie Ayala, "\$4M spent, but few wins/ Did GOP advocacy group's losses result from tilt too far right?" *ibid.*, Nov. 10, 2018, p. 1A.

⁸⁸ Alex Samuels, "Federal judge blocks Texas' elimination of straight-ticket voting/ Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton said his office has filed a motion to stop the judge's order and will file an appeal of the district court's ruling." *Texas Tribune*, Sept. 25, 2020, <https://www.texastribune.org/2020/09/25/straight-ticket-voting-texas/>.

⁸⁹ Rebekah Allen, "Panel flips blue after 26 years full of Republicans/ 8 Democrats are swept into office to overtake majority," *Dallas Morning News*, Nov. 10, 2018, p. 1B; Adeel Hassan, "'Black Girl Magic': 19 seek Harris judgeships, and 17 win," *ibid.*, Nov. 11, 2018, p. 21A, reprinted from *New York Times*.

⁹⁰ Editorial, "A Tea Party Reckoning," *Dallas Morning News*, Nov. 9, 2018, p. 14A.

59. Figures 3a and 3b demonstrate graphically the decreases in Republican margins in the state's 36 congressional districts between 2014 and 2018.⁹¹ Each graph ranks the districts not by district number, but by Republican margin, with all of the districts that Democrats won appearing below zero. Except for one competitive district (the 23rd, which took up most of the territory in West Texas from San Antonio to El Paso), Republicans prevailed in all 24 districts that they won in 2014 by landslide proportions of over 20% (60-40 or more). Democrats, of course, were packed into almost all of the 11 districts that they won.

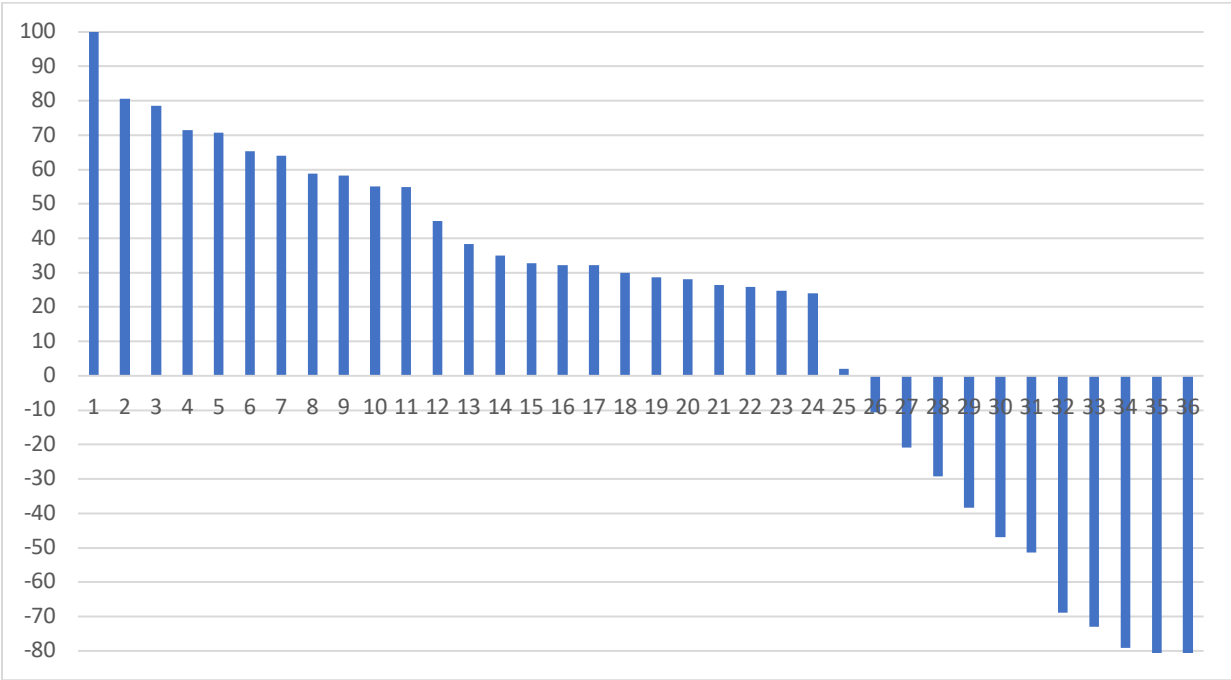
60. The contrast to the outcomes in 2018 is stark. Democrats picked up two seats. More important, in 10 of the 23 districts that Republicans won, their majorities were 10% or less. By this measure, a third of the congressional districts in Texas (10 won by Republicans, and 2 by Democrats) were competitive in 2018. The picture was very similar in 2020, with 10 districts decided by 10% or less of the vote. Moreover, these politically competitive districts were much more ethnically diverse than other Republican-majority districts. In 2020, the average district that Republicans carried by more than 10 percentage points had a “white only” citizen voting-age population (CVAP) of 65%, while the white-only CVAP in the average competitive district carried by either party was 50.8%. With minority percentages growing rapidly and minorities voting predominantly, often overwhelmingly Democratic, the Republican Party had a lot of shuffling to do in the 2021 redistricting if it was to maintain its majorities.⁹²

⁹¹ Election returns are from the Texas Secretary of State's website, source: https://elections.sos.state.tx.us/elchist175_state.htm.

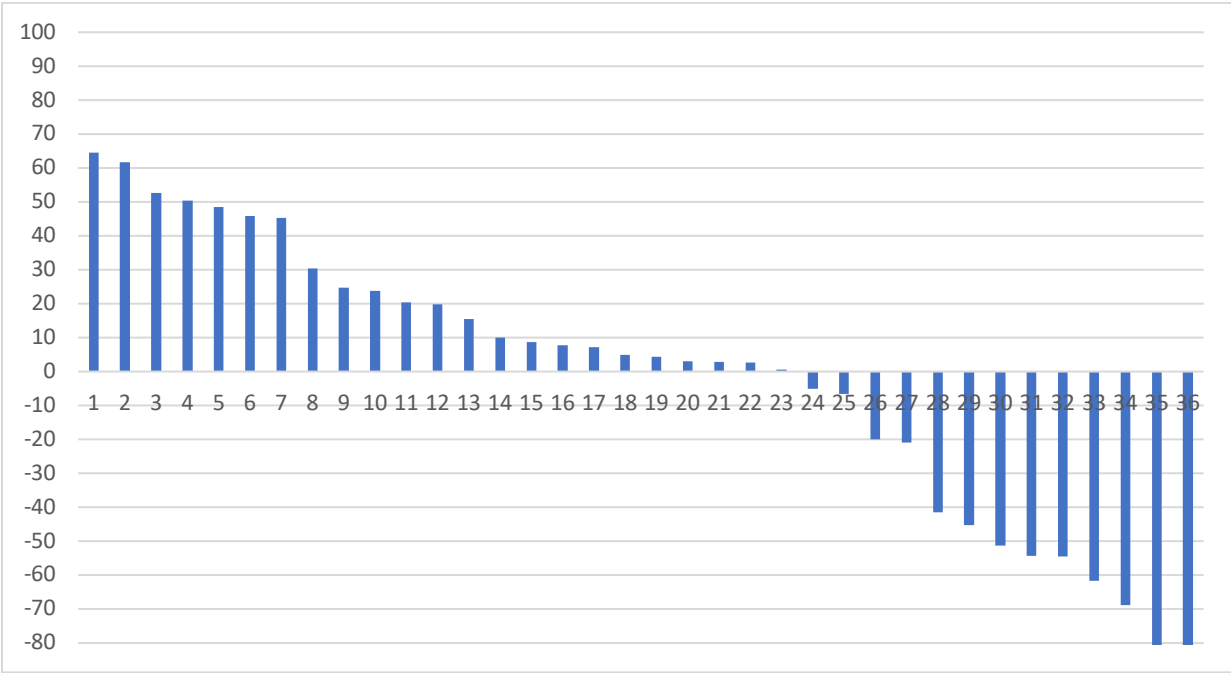
⁹² The danger to Republicans of the increasing number of competitive congressional districts in the 2010s was widely noted. See, e.g., David Weigel, “The Trailer: So long, swing seats: Gerrymandering is already shrinking the midterm map,” *Washington Post*, Sept. 30, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/09/30/trailer-so-long-swing-seats-gerrymandering-is-already-shrinking-midterm-map/>.

Figure 3: Decreasing Republican Margins in Texas Congressional Contests, 2014-2018

A. 2014



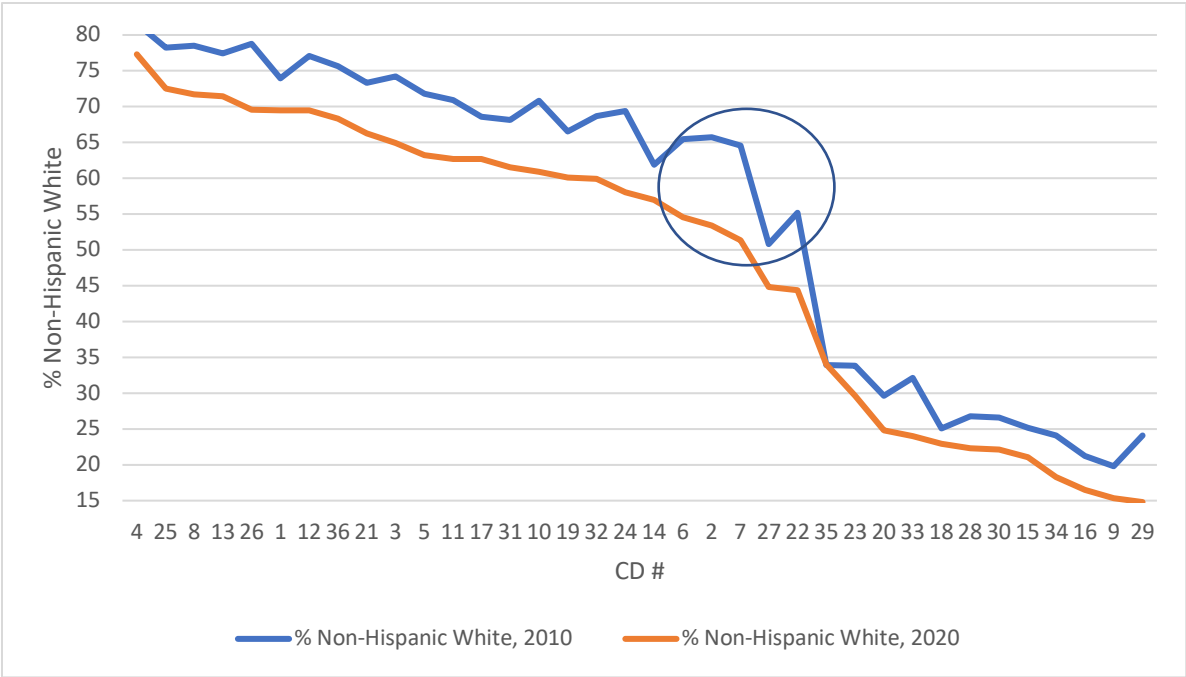
B: 2018



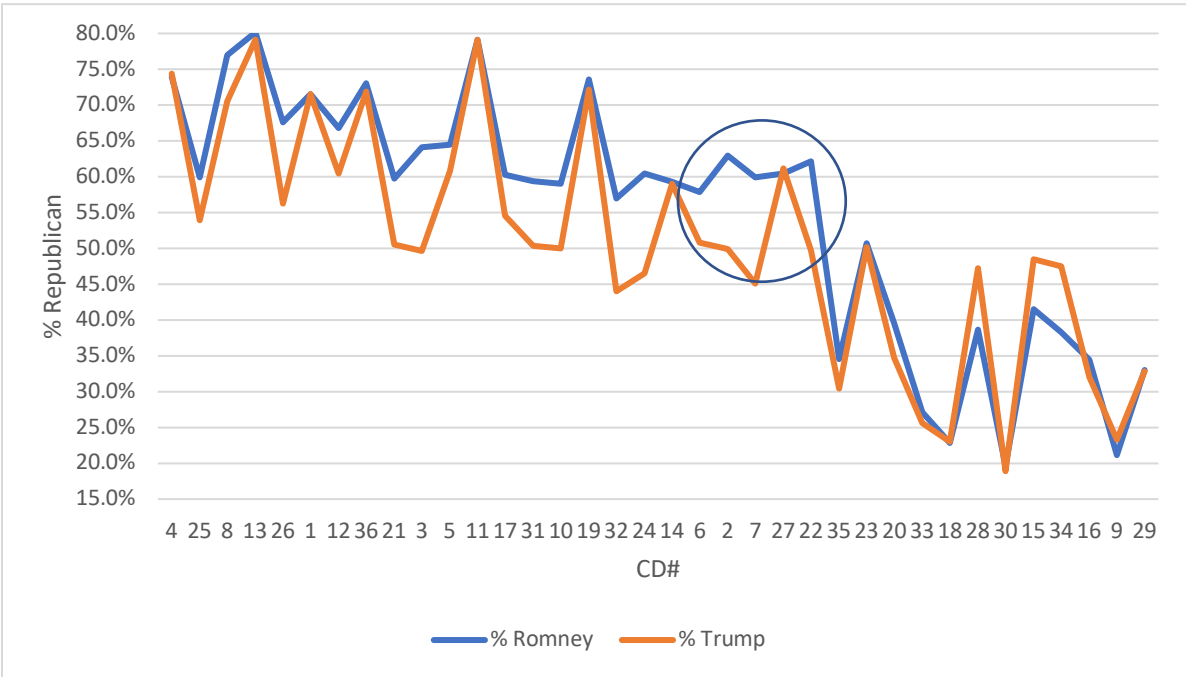
61. The data can be displayed in another way that ties the shifts in partisan lineups since the 2011 redistricting to the growth in the percentages of people of color or, to put it another way, in the relative decline of the non-Hispanic white population. Figure 4a traces the non-Hispanic white citizen voting-age population by congressional district, ordered not by congressional district number, but by non-Hispanic white CVAP in each district in 2020. It shows a decline of the non-Hispanic white CVAP in all but one of the 36 congressional districts. I have circled several in the middle to emphasize shifts from ethnically overwhelming white districts in 2010 to relatively competitive ones – 45% to 55% non-Hispanic white -- by 2020, where white control was becoming tenuous. For example, the non-Hispanic white CVAP in CDs 2, 6, and 7 declined from 65.7%, 65.5% and 64.6% to 53.4%, 54.6% and 51.3%, respectively. Figure 4b orders the districts by the same non-Hispanic white percentages as in Figure 4a, but displays the percentages for Mitt Romney in 2012 and Donald Trump in 2020 for each district. The circled districts parallel those circled above. Thus, the % for the Republican presidential candidate declined from 2012 to 2020 in CDs 2, 6, and 7 from 62.9%, 57.9%, and 59.9% to 49.9%, 50.8%, and 45.1%, respectively. In addition, there were some suburban districts – districts 3, 10, 21, and 31, where there were shifts toward the Democrats, or at least away from the 2020 Republican candidate. Non-Hispanic white margins in these suburban districts dropped by 7-10 percentage points, though they remained over 60-40%. If the Republican Party was to maintain its dominance in the legislative and congressional delegations, it had to reverse the partisan shift in the areas of these congressional districts, and it had to concentrate especially on those areas where the ethnic minority population was becoming a majority or near-majority. This was the political and racial reality that confronted those designing the redistricting plans in 2021.

Figure 4: Changes in % Non-Hispanic White and Republican Presidential %, 2010-20

A. Change in % Non-Hispanic White CVAP, 2010-20, by Congressional District



B. Change in % Republican for President, 2012-20, by Congressional District



VIII. The Climate of Racial Politics

62. The fifth factor is the **climate of racial politics**, which is usually indicated by two basic political facts, the number of minority candidates elected and the approximate extent of racial polarization among voters. Such facts condition the expectations of officials who frame or maintain electoral arrangements.

63. Table 1 summarizes the numbers of state and national officials of each ethnic group from Texas as of 2020. It includes the party affiliations of the elected officials as another indication of the racial polarization of Texas politics. The overall conclusions of the table will come as no surprise to even the casual observer of contemporary Texas politics: First, Anglos (whites) are considerably overrepresented, and Latinos and Asian-Americans are severely underrepresented. See the last two rows. Note that these two rows provide an underestimate of the real underrepresentation, because to simplify matters, I have just added members of the state legislature and the national House, who represent sub-state districts, to the number of statewide elected officials, all but two of whom were white in 2020.⁹³ Second, Republican officials are overwhelmingly white – 142 of the 151 Republican elected officials, or 94%. By contrast, only 18 of the 96 elected Democrats (19%) are white. So minorities were very underrepresented and race and party affiliations were very highly correlated among elected officials.

⁹³ Justice Eva Guzman has resigned from the State Supreme Court to run for State Attorney-General.

Table 1: State and Federal Elected Officials by Race

Level	Total Officials	White	Black	Latino	Asian
U.S. Senate & House	38	25 (2D, 23R)	5 (5D)	8 (6D, 2 R)	0
Statewide	27	25 (25R)	0	2 (R)	0
State Legislature	181	110 (16D, 94R)	19 (18D, 1R)	46 (44D, 2 R)	4 (2D, 2R)
Total, all officials	246	160 (18D, 142R)	25 (24D, 1R)	56 (50D, 6R)	4 (2D, 2R)
%, all officials		65.0	9.8	22.8	1.6
% in Population		41.2	12.9	39.7	5.2

Sources:

State Legislature: <https://apps.texastribune.org/features/2020/2021-texas-legislature-representation/>

Black Congress: <https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Data/Black-American-Representatives-and-Senators-by-State-and-Territory/>

Latino Congress: https://naleo.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/2019_National_Directory_of_Latino_Elected_Officials.pdf#page=22

Total statewide elected officials: <https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/voter/elected.shtml>

Ethnicity of Statewide elected officials: photographs on internet, NALEO

64. Table 2 demonstrates that the correlation of race and party choice was not confined to officeholders, but pervaded the public, that there have been no sustained trends since the millennium, and that polarization by race is quite similar in state and presidential contests. Between a quarter and a third of white voters have supported the Democratic party candidates throughout, along with between 83% and 98% of Black voters, and between 50% and 70 % of Latino voters. The exceptions are the four-way gubernatorial contest in 2006 and certain contests (2000 and 2012 presidential and 2002 governor and senator) when there were no available exit polls for all ethnic groups and different polling organizations only polled Latinos. Even so, the results are not very different from the rest of the pattern. Asian-Americans in Texas only became a large enough percentage of the population in Texas for national polling organizations to include them as a separate group or consolidated with an “other” category in 2018. If the 2020 results hold, the pattern of Asian voter support for Democratic candidates will continue to resemble that for Latino voters.

Table 2: Democratic Support from Ethnic Groups in Exit Polls

Year	Ethnic Group				
	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Other
President					
2020 Pres.	33	90	58	63	42
2016 Pres.	26	84	61	72	
2012 Pres.			70		
2008 Pres.	26	98	63		
2004 Pres.	25	83	50	48	
2000 Pres.			65		
Off-Year					
2018 Sen.	31	90	69	52	
2014 Gov.	25	92	55		
2012 Sen.			65		
2010 Gov.	29	88	61		
2006 Gov.	24 (31 others)	63 (19 others)	41 (27 others)		
2002 Gov.			85		
2002 Sen.			79		

Sources:

2020: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/elections/interactive/2020/exit-polls/texas-exit-polls/>2018: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/politics/voter-polls/texas.html>2016: <https://www.cnn.com/election/2016/results/exit-polls/texas/president>2014: <https://www.cbsnews.com/elections/2014/governor/texas/exit/>2012: https://americasvoice.org/press_releases/new-poll-how-texas-latino-and-new-citizen-voters-influenced-the-2012-elections/2010: <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2010/results/polls/#TXG00p1>2008: <https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2008/results/states/exitpolls/texas.html>2006: <https://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2006/pages/results/states/TX/G/00/epolls.0.html> (others = Kinky Friedman, Carole Keeton Strayhorn)2004: <https://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2004/pages/results/states/TX/P/00/epolls.0.html>2002: https://wcvi.org/latino_voter_research/polls/tx/2002/exit_results02.html2000: https://wcvi.org/latino_voter_research/polls/tx/2000/latino_vote_for_candidates.html

65. These are overall statewide averages. In the appendix to his declaration in this case, Prof. Matt Barretto performs more fine-grained ecological inference analyses on separate counties (Bell; Bexar; Cameron; Dallas; Dallas and Tarrant combined; Tarrant; Dallas, Tarrant, Denton, and Collin combined; Hays, Blanco, Comal, Guadalupe, and Caldwell combined; El Paso, Hudspeth, Culberson, Jeff Davis, Reeves, Presidio, Pecos, Brewster, and Terrell combined; Harris; Nueces; Webb, Duval, Jim Wells, Zapata, Jim Hogg, Brooks, Starr, Hidalgo, Maverick, Dimmit, La Salle, McMullen, Live Oak, Zavala, Frio, and Atascosa combined); Congressional Districts 6, 15, 23, 24, 25; and House District 118. In general, he finds considerably higher cohesion among Latinos for Democratic candidates and among Anglos for Republican candidates than in the statewide polling averages given in Table 2. For the purpose of determining whether voting in particular districts has been racially polarized and whether districts in the adopted plans or alternatives will “perform” for minorities, the more local estimates are obviously superior to statewide averages. And Barretto’s more polarized estimates of voting behavior only strengthen the case for the inextricable intertwining of race and party motivations during the Texas redistricting of 2021.

66. Table 3 shows the partisan identities that Texas voters checked on a five-point partisan identification scale in a Pew survey of 2014 (a very good Republican year). In a basically two-party election such as those in Table 2, of course, voters cannot hide in an independent or “leaning” middling category, and they tend to move toward the dominant partisan choice for one with their ethnic identity. The reason to add this purely attitudinal measure to the Table 2 measure of actual behavior is that by multiplying by the size of the sub-samples in the fourth row of Table 3, we can get a better fix on the ethnic composition of the core of each party. The basic finding is that only 20% of the 997 Republicans in the sample were minorities; whereas, 57% of the Democrats in the sample were. Any law that has the effect of discriminating against minority voters will affect the Democratic Party much more than it will affect the Republican Party.

67. Tables 1-3 make it abundantly clear that if one were designing a redistricting plan for Texas to assist the Republican Party and/or to protect incumbents from that party, a plan that disadvantaged Blacks would have the maximum partisan effect, while one that disadvantaged Latinos and/or Asian-Americans would also boost Republicans’ chances very markedly. Race and party are so highly correlated in contemporary Texas that partisan and racial concentrations – the differently colored shadings on the State’s RedAppl redistricting computers – overlapped to a very large extent, representing a digital manifestation of the impossibility of separating racial from partisan motives during this redistricting.

Table 3: Partisan Self-Identity in Texas in 2014

Race/Ethnicity	Republican/lean Republican	No Lean	Democrat/lean Democrat	# in sample
White	58%	13%	28%	1379
Black	9%	15%	76%	263

Latino	25%	31%	44%	690
# in sample	997	433	890	

Source: Pew Religious Landscape Study, <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/religious-landscape-study/compare/party-affiliation/by/racial-and-ethnic-composition/among/state/texas/>

68. There is another sense in which partisanship and ethnicity are inextricably intertwined in contemporary Texas: the attitudes on racial issues of members of each political party are starkly divided. A 2020 poll by the Texas Politics Project of the University of Texas at Austin extensively examined attitudes of Texans on policing and the extent of racial discrimination and cross-classified them by party and ethnicity.⁹⁴ In the wake of the George Floyd murder and the subsequent widespread protests, 88% of Democrats, but only 15% of Republicans, saw the deaths of African-Americans during encounters with the police as signs of broader problems. Seven percent of Democrats, compared to 76% of Republicans, viewed them as isolated incidents. Asked what group experiences the most discrimination in America today, 60% of Democrats, but only 16% of Republicans named African-Americans. Among Democrats, only 1% named whites as the most discriminated against, while 17% of Republicans shared that opinion. On the issue of Confederate monuments, 74% of Republicans, compared to only 9% of Democrats, thought they should remain in place.

69. Partisans split on immigration issues, as well. In a 2019 University of Texas/Texas Tribune poll, 22% of Democrats, compared to 59% of Republicans thought the number of immigrants admitted to the U.S. had been too large. Twenty-four percent of Democrats, but 76% of Republicans wanted to deport undocumented immigrants immediately. Over twice as large a percentage of Democrats (62%) as Republicans (30%) were optimistic about the state's increasing racial and ethnic diversity. Only 21% of Democrats, compared to 69% of Republicans, favored a state constitutional English-only amendment. Sixty-four percent of Democrats, but only 16% of Republicans thought that foreign newcomers strengthened American society.⁹⁵

70. It is, then, not just that partisan and racial orientations happen to be correlated. On the contrary, divisions over racial issues are central to the identities of the two parties in Texas today, as central now as the Democratic taunts at the "Black Republican" Party were during the First Reconstruction in the 19th century. Any attempt to separate racial from partisan motives on

⁹⁴ <https://texaspolitics.utexas.edu/blog/texans-divided-race-and-party-policing-and-protests-while-overall-support-rises-black-lives>.

⁹⁵ Ross Ramsey, "On immigration issues, a wall between Texas partisans, UT/TT poll finds/ Texas voters from the two major parties are split on a range of immigration issues, including immigration policy, deportations and bilingual education, according to the latest University of Texas/Texas Tribune Poll." *Texas Tribune*, Nov. 6, 2019, <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/11/06/immigration-issues-wall-between-texas-partisans-utt-poll-finds/>.

redistricting issues, such as Republicans in the Texas Legislature often attempted to do in 2021, would be a gross distortion of easily demonstrated facts.

IX. Basic Demographic Facts and Demographic Change

71. The fourth variety of evidence is **basic demographic facts**. A rising and/or concentrated minority population, populations whose depressed educational and economic levels reflect the vestiges of past and present racial and ethnic discrimination, or a relative decline in a population group on which a dominant political party is dependent are facts that politicians can be expected to observe, and that, therefore, should be assumed to affect their design of electoral rules and structures. Politicians' awareness of the geographical concentrations of different ethnic groups and the changes in the relative numbers of those groups have become even more obvious with the development of redistricting hardware and software, making protestations that racial and ethnic concerns played no role in shaping redistricting plans even less credible than in previous years.

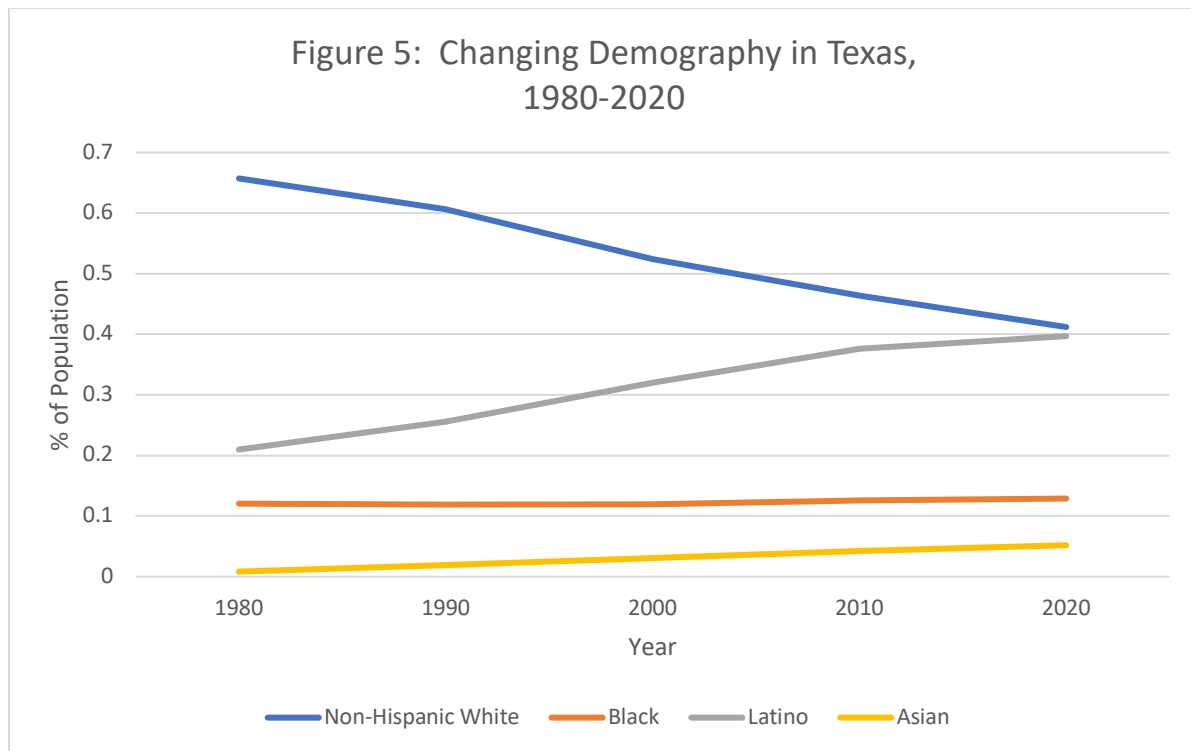
72. The most important demographic fact about Texas, pointed out again and again during the debates over Texas's redistricting in 2021, was the growth of the minority population. Figure 5 demonstrates the fact dramatically. In 1980, Texas was about two-thirds non-Hispanic white, a fifth Latino, 12% Black, and less than 1% Asian-American. By 2010, the gap between non-Hispanic whites and Latinos was less than 10%, and the Asian population had grown markedly. By 2020, the percentages for non-Hispanic whites and Latinos were practically equal, and considering the reported undercount of Latinos in the 2020 census, it is possible that the Latino population exceeded that of non-Hispanic whites.⁹⁶

73. Four days before the start of the special session of the Texas Legislature to consider redistricting in September 2021, Lt. Gov. Dan Patrick, the most powerful force in the Senate, told Laura Ingraham's Fox News show that

"[Democrats] are allowing this year probably 2 million [immigrants], that's who we apprehended, maybe another million, into this country. At least in 18 years even if they all don't become citizens before then and can vote, in 18 years if every one of them has two or three children, you're talking about millions and millions and millions of new voters and they will thank the Democrats and Biden for bringing them here. Who do you think they're going to vote for?"

⁹⁶ Alex Ura, "The U.S. census estimates it missed more than a half-million Texans during 2020 count," *Texas Tribune*, May 19, 2022, https://www.texastribune.org/2022/05/19/census-2020-texas-undercount/?utm_source=Texas+Tribune+Newsletters&utm_campaign=c854ebd501-trib-newsletters-breaking-alert&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_d9a68d8efc-c854ebd501-101201265&mc_cid=c854ebd501&mc_eid=78249492c1.

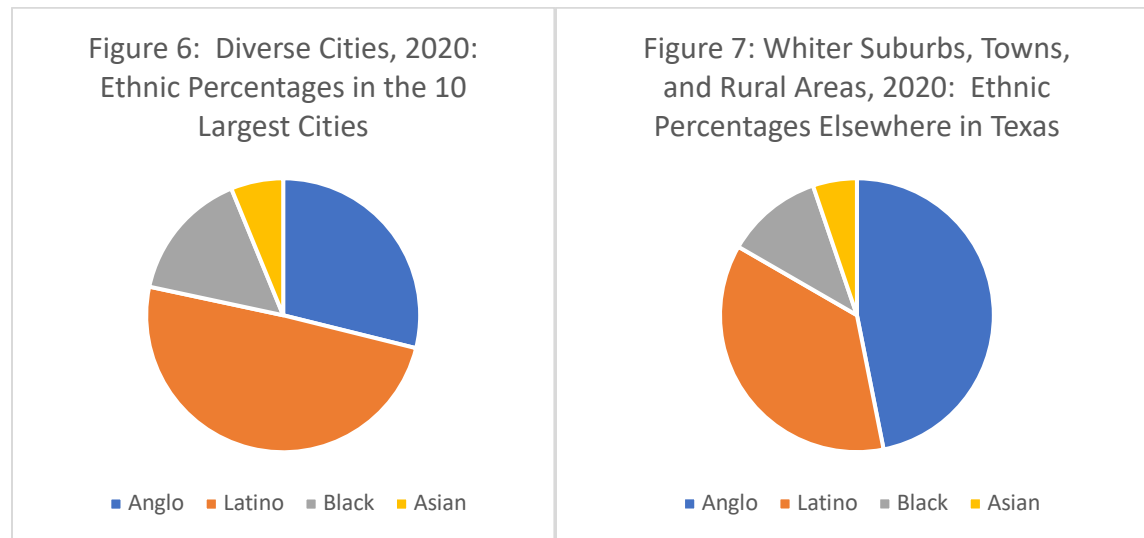
President Joe Biden and Democrats had begun a "silent revolution" to take over the country by winning over the votes of migrants, Patrick continued. "This is trying to take over our country without firing a shot."⁹⁷ A May, 2022 poll by the Texas Politics Project at the University of Texas found that 61% of the state's Republican voters named border security or immigration as the most important issue facing the state.⁹⁸ Trends such as those encapsulated in Figure 4, which were reflected in the statements of Republican political leaders and the attitudes of Republican voters provide a fundamental background for the 2021 redistricting.



⁹⁷ James Barragan, "Dan Patrick warns Democrats are allowing in immigrants for 'silent revolution,' mirroring language of far-right extremists/ Patrick's comments mirrored a far-right theory that says political elites are replacing white populations through mass migration and demographic changes. He called the increase of migrants at the border an "invasion." *Texas Tribune*, Sept. 17, 2021, <https://www.texastribune.org/2021/09/17/texas-dan-patrick-immigrants-democrats-haitians/>.

⁹⁸ Bridget Grumet, "Grumet: 'Great Replacement Theory' has worrisome place in Texas GOP," *Austin American-Statesman*, May 17, 2022, https://www.statesman.com/story/news/columns/2022/05/17/grumet-texas-great-replacement-theory-has-worrisome-place-republican-party/9799919002/?utm_source=statesman-DailyBriefing&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=daily_briefing&utm_term=list_article_thumb&utm_content=NAAS-TEXAS-AUSTIN-NLETTER65.

74. Equally important for assessing the intent and effect of election laws, the minority population in Texas is highly urbanized. According to the 2020 census, 30.4% of Texans live in the state's ten largest cities: Houston, San Antonio, Dallas, Austin, Fort Worth, El Paso, Arlington, Corpus Christi, Plano, and Laredo. But only 21.7% of Anglos do, while 37.3% of Latinos, 37.5% of Blacks, and 32.5% of Asians live in those same ten cities. To put it another way, the populations of the ten cities in 2020 are only 28.4% Anglo, while they are 48.2% Latino, 14.6% Black, and 5.7% Asian – i.e., over two-thirds minority.⁹⁹ In the rest of the state, Anglos make up 44.7% of the population, while the three minority groups comprise 51.2%. Figures 6 and 7 make the point more colorfully.



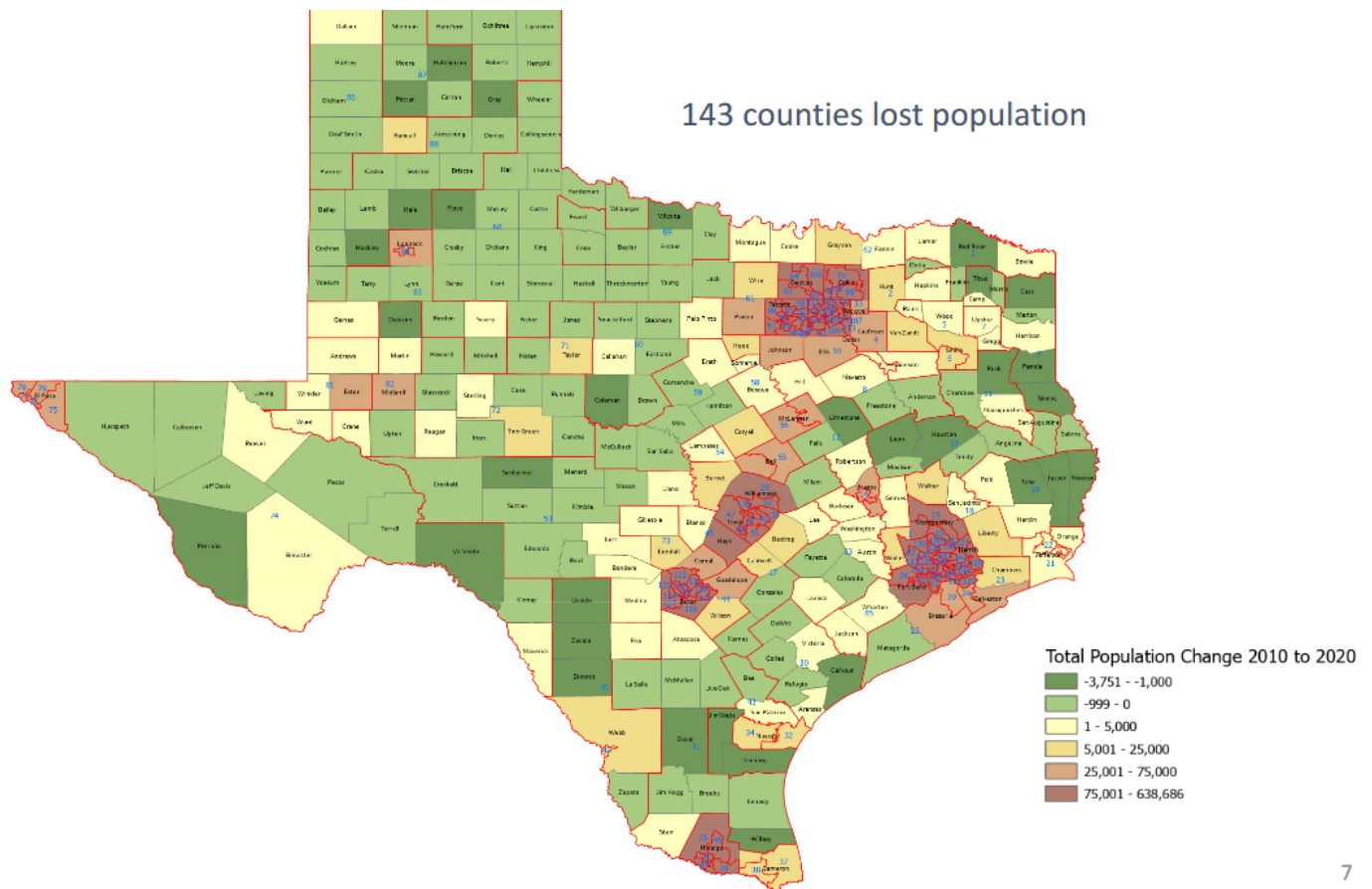
75. In preparation for the 2021 redistricting, Dr. Lloyd Potter, director of the Texas Demographic Center, made several presentations of pertinent data to legislators and at hearings around the state. Figure 8, drawn from Potter's September 8, 2021 presentation to the House Redistricting Committee, shows the numerical changes in population across Texas counties from 2010 to 2020. It demonstrates vividly that the vast majority of the change came in major urban areas: Harris, Bexar, Dallas, Fort Worth, Collin, Denton, Travis, and Edinburg. By contrast, as Dr. Potter emphasized, 143 counties lost population. A full 198 counties lost non-Hispanic white population over the decade. The map shows that nearly all of the rural counties in East and West Texas either declined in population or grew by small numbers.

76. Figures 9a and 9b, also taken from Potter's presentation, demonstrate in more detail just how much of the state's population growth was concentrated in the major cities of Houston, San Antonio, Dallas/Fort Worth, and Austin. If legislators had wanted to change legislative, congressional, and Board of Education districts to match population changes from 2010 to 2020,

⁹⁹ I leave out of both the numerator and the denominator the census category "two or more races," as well as the Native American and Hawaiian and Pacific Islander categories, which are tiny in Texas.

they could easily just have added districts in the metropolitan areas and adjacent suburban counties. In particular, the rural and small town counties had lost so much population, relative to urban areas, that they could have been combined with each other, forming natural communities of interest, instead of appending them to metropolitan areas with which they shared so little politically, demographically, and attitudinally. That those who designed the 2021 redistricting chose more difficult paths, often marrying seemingly incompatible areas, is a further indication that the redistricting had motives other than equalizing population.

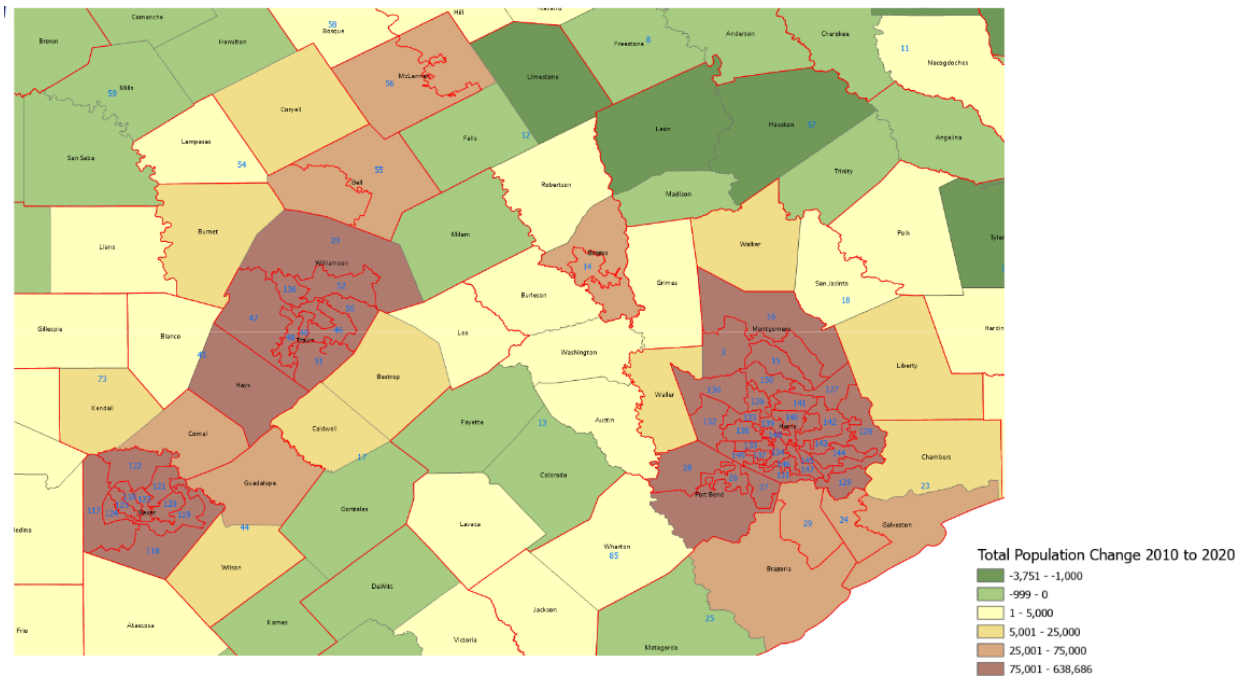
Figure 8: Numerical Population Change in Texas Counties, 2010-20, with 2020 Texas House Districts Noted



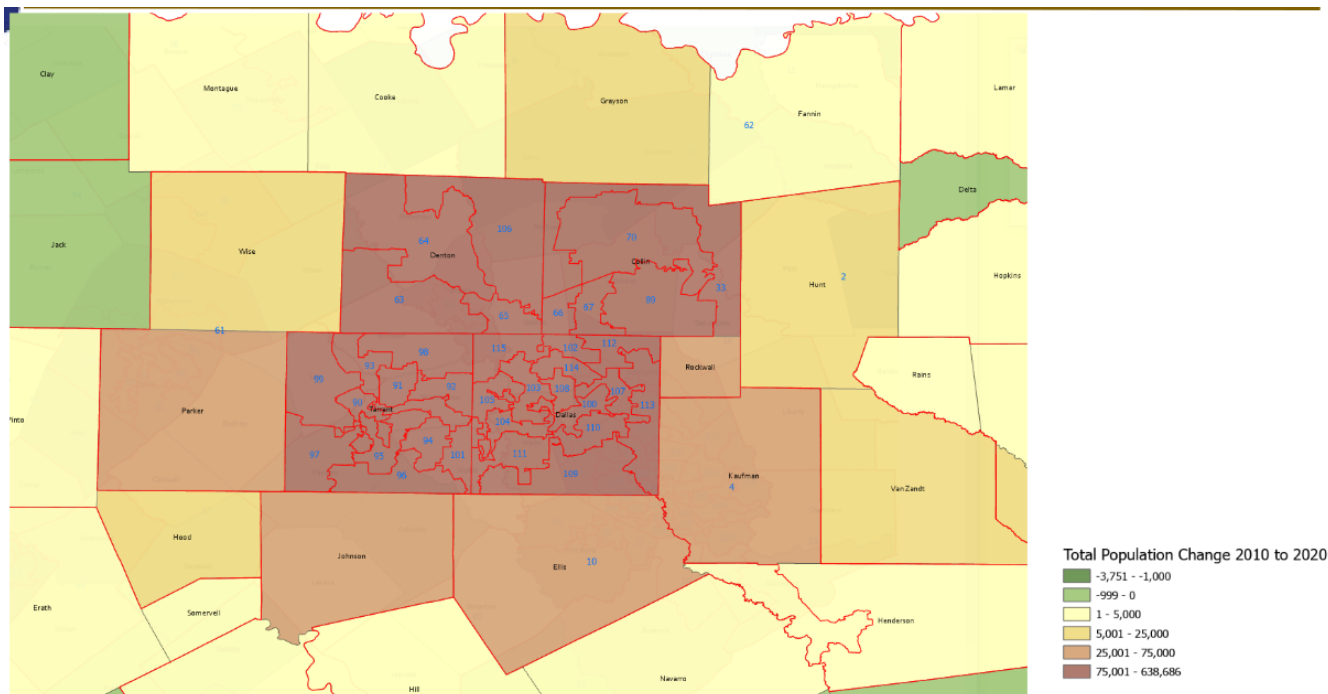
Census, P.L. 94-171 Redistricting Files

Figure 9: Numerical Change Was Concentrated in and Around Metropolitan Areas

A. San Antonio, Austin, and Houston



B. DFW



X. Institutional Rules: A Biased Process

A. Secretive, Unclear Legal Standards

77. The fifth factor is what I term institutional rules. Even more than in 2011, when redistricting plans were constructed in secret without general consultation with minority legislators, rushed through in a few days without hearings that gave the public time to understand and critique the plans, and passed by partisan, almost entirely non-Hispanic white legislators who rejected all Democratic and ethnic minority amendments, the 2021 process was biased. Of the 2011 process, the three-judge court commented that

we examine the process to glean insight into whether there was discriminatory purpose, and the inquiry is not limited solely to comparing this process to prior processes for deviations. In this case, the rushed and secretive process suggests that Defendants did want to avoid scrutiny of whether their efforts in fact complied with the VRA or were intended to do so, or whether they were only creating a facade of compliance. . . .

The exclusion of minority member and public input despite the minority population growth, the misleading information, the secrecy and closed process, and the rushed process, all support an inference that steps were taken to undermine minority voting strength to obtain partisan advantage.¹⁰⁰

78. Evidence of biases in the 2021 process pervade the few hearings and relatively sparse legislative floor debates. When Sen. Joan Huffman, Chair of the Redistricting Committee in the Senate, presented the Committee's plan in the Sept. 24, 2021 committee hearing, she asserted that "we've done our best to remain open and transparent about the process" of drawing districts. Yet Sen. Beverly Powell, a white Democrat representing a minority coalition district, remarked immediately thereafter that she was "a little whiplashed this morning after having seen the proposal for the new maps for Senate District 10 about 9:00 o'clock last night."¹⁰¹ Sen. Powell, whose existing district was close enough to the ideal population for Senate districts that it required neither an addition nor a subtraction from its territory,¹⁰² continued in dialogue with Sen. Huffman.

[T]he minority populations, the Blacks, Latinos, Asian-Americans in my district and across the state grew at a tremendous rate between 2010 and '21.

So based on that population change, what is being done in this process to determine whether Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act requires new minority opportunity districts to be drawn?

SENATOR HUFFMAN: I consulted with my legal counsel.

SENATOR POWELL: Okay. Then I'll ask you one more time. Who is legal counsel?

¹⁰⁰ *Perez v. Abbott*, 253 F. Supp. 3d 864, 961-62 (W.D. Tex. 2017) (three-judge court).

¹⁰¹ Senate Special Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 24, 2021, transcript at 6, 14.

¹⁰² Senate Special Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 24, 2021, transcript at 17-18 (Statement of Sen. Powell).

SENATOR HUFFMAN: It's the Attorney General's Office.¹⁰³

At a later point, Sen. Huffman declared that the analysis from the Attorney General's office was delivered orally, not in written form, and that no other senators received it, only Sen. Huffman and her staff.¹⁰⁴

79. Attorneys in the Attorney General's office were not made available to answer questions about how they interpreted or applied the numerous, often conflicting legal precedents. After testifying before the Senate Redistricting Committee and pointing out contradictions between legal precedents and the implied legal analysis employed by the Committee in drawing its plans, one of the nation's most prominent redistricting lawyers, Michael Li of the NYU Brennan Center, called for the Attorney General's legal advice to be made public.¹⁰⁵ The only published public legal analysis offered by the State, the Texas Legislative Council's September 2021 "Guide to 2021 Redistricting," offered only the vaguest interpretation of the requirements of the Voting Rights Act and the 14th and 15th amendments' strictures against racial discrimination.

The application of the Voting Rights Act and federal constitutional prohibitions against redistricting that has the purpose or effect of discriminating on the basis of race, color, or language group has been developed primarily through case law and has been the subject of extensive litigation. In drawing new districts, the legislature must carefully consider how those districts affect the ability of racial, ethnic, and language group voters to elect candidates of their choice and must not use the arrangements of districts to reduce or limit the ability of members of those groups to elect candidates of their choice.¹⁰⁶

80. Questions about the law of race during redistricting dominated the debates over redistricting in the Legislature. Among the questions on which members of the Legislature apparently disagreed were the following: Was the legislature legally required to preserve all districts that currently "performed" for minorities?¹⁰⁷ Was the standard in the Benchmark the minority percentages when the district had been drawn in 2011 or the percentages in that district as of the 2020 census?¹⁰⁸ If it could be demonstrated that a majority-minority district could be drawn in an area, was the Legislature required to draw one?¹⁰⁹ Could the Legislature break up a near-majority-minority district in which it had been shown that minorities could consistently elect candidates of their choice?¹¹⁰ Was the Legislature required to draw or preserve districts in which

¹⁰³ Senate Special Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 24, 2021, transcript at p. 20.

¹⁰⁴ Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 94-95.

¹⁰⁵ Senate Special Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 24, 2021, transcript at 41-42 (colloquy between Sen. Huffman and Michael Li).

¹⁰⁶ https://redistricting.capitol.texas.gov/docs/guide_to_2021_redistricting.pdf, at 2.

¹⁰⁷ House Journal, Eighty-Seventh Legislature, Third Called Session, Supplement, Oct. 12, 2021, at S26 (statement of Rep. Turner).

¹⁰⁸ House Journal, Eighty-Seventh Legislature, Third Called Session, Supplement, Oct. 12, 2021, at S48 (colloquy between Reps. Hunter and Turner).

¹⁰⁹ Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 97 (colloquy between Sen. Eckhardt and Sen. Huffman).

¹¹⁰ Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 59-63 (colloquy between Sens. Huffman and Powell), and 114-15 (statement of Sen. Huffman); Senate Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 28, 2021, transcript at 2-3 (colloquy between Sens. Huffman and Miles).

the members of two or three minority voter groups could together form a majority?¹¹¹ Was the Legislature required to create a Black opportunity district if Blacks comprised 50% of the CVAP, but had to preserve one if the Black CVAP was above 40%?¹¹² Could areas of minority concentration be split off and joined to distant, overwhelmingly non-Hispanic white counties, so long as no single minority group in one area was large enough to form a district by itself?¹¹³ Would splitting an area where a district could be drawn that had a majority of a single minority qualify as intentional discrimination or vote dilution?¹¹⁴ Was a district previously drawn by a court as a remedy for intentional discrimination protected, even if it did not contain a majority of one minority group?¹¹⁵ And what population index should be used – voting-age population, citizen voting-age population, Spanish-surname voter registration or Spanish-surname turnout?¹¹⁶ If there were two minorities with different citizenship rates, should the sum of their voting-age populations be simply added together to determine if they composed a majority of a district or potential district?¹¹⁷ Legislators recognized that different court decisions could be cited for every answer to each of these questions. For example, disagreeing with Democratic Caucus Chair Chris Turner on the application of various legal opinions to the 2021 redistricting, House Redistricting Committee Chair Todd Hunter remarked “I don’t agree with you on all the different legal cases because in advice to me, I’ve had other cases throughout the state and the country that have different views.” He declined to make those views public.¹¹⁸

81. The answers to these questions could not await the universally expected litigation on the 2021 redistricting, because they bore on the issue of racially discriminatory intent. Suppose, for example, that it was agreed that it was a violation of the Voting Rights Act to choose to draw a majority-non-Hispanic white district in an area in which it had been demonstrated that a majority-minority district that complied at least as well with “traditional districting principles”

¹¹¹ Senate Special Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 24, 2021, transcript at 41-42 (colloquy between Sen. Huffman and Michael Li); Senate Special Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 28, 2021, transcript at 10-12 (statement of Sen. Huffman); Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 100-01 (colloquy between Sens. Huffman and West).

¹¹² House Journal, 87th Leg., 3d Called Sess., Supplement, at S46.

¹¹³ Senate Special Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 24, 2021, transcript at 29-34 (colloquy between Sens. Alvarado and Huffman); Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 53-58 (colloquy between Sens. Huffman and Powell).

¹¹⁴ *Id.*, at 37-38 (colloquy between Sen. Huffman and LULAC Pres. Domingo Garcia).

¹¹⁵ Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 24.

¹¹⁶ During the Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, Sen. Huffman dismissed a proposal for a Senate district in the DFW area because even though its Hispanic CVAP was 50.5%, its Spanish surname voter registration was only 43.6%. Transcript at 127. In the House Redistricting Committee Hearing of Oct. 4, 2021, Chairman Hunter stated that “My view is the correct analysis in reviewing majority-minority districts is to look at African American and Hispanic VAP, voting age population . . .” Transcript at 8. During the Oct. 12 House Floor Debate, Rep. Hunter said he had used minority CVAP to evaluate districts. House Journal, 87th Leg., 3d Called Sess. at S2. At another point in the same debate, he said used total population, and at another, VAP. *Id.* At S18, S 51. During the Oct. 11 House Redistricting Committee Meeting, at 16, Rep. Anchia asked Rep. Hunter whether he had “an opinion one way or the other as to the – the proper metric, HCVAP versus HVAP? Chair Hunter: Not at this time.”

¹¹⁷ House Redistricting Committee Hearing, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 13 (remarks of Rep. Hunter).

¹¹⁸ House Journal, 87th Leg., 3d Called Sess., Supplement, at S 28-29.

could be drawn.¹¹⁹ Then drawing that majority-non-Hispanic white district would likely be considered intentionally discriminatory, and a defense during a debate that merely said “I cleared the district with legal counsel” would be ludicrous. Or suppose that legislators agreed to a plain meaning reading of Justice Kennedy’s opinion in *Miller v. Johnson* when he said that

The plaintiff’s burden is to show, either through circumstantial evidence of a district’s shape and demographics or more direct evidence going to legislative purpose, that race was the predominant factor motivating the legislature’s decision to place a *significant number* of voters *within or without* a particular district.¹²⁰

Strictly interpreted, such a standard might prevent moving some significant number – not a majority or perhaps even a large minority – of members of an ethnic minority in or out of any district to preserve or promote white control, even where single or multiple minority groups could not possibly form majorities of a district in the area.

82. The point is that by refusing to state or debate legal standards openly, legislators could later assert that they had not acted with a racial purpose, claiming instead that they had relied on legal advice delivered in secret. Thus, Sen. Huffman declared during the Oct. 4 Senate floor debate that the legal advice from the Attorney General’s office, which she refused to divulge, satisfied her that the plan that she stated that two of her staff members drew at her direction was “legal and complied with the Voting Rights Act” adding that “I’m not going to discuss what I talked about with my lawyer.”¹²¹ The secretive process thus stifled public debate, and it may be considered evidence of an attempt to cover up racial motives by deliberate obfuscation.

B. Disregard of Traditional Districting Principles

83. A related sense in which discussion was suppressed, allowing such goals as racial discrimination to be accomplished silently, was that standards for evaluating plans were left deliberately murky. Thus, during the Oct. 4, 2021 Senate Floor Debate, Sen. Powell questioned Sen. Huffman:

SENATOR POWELL: At the September 28th 15 committee hearing, you said you were voting against my amendment sponsored by Senator Alvarado to restore SD 10 in order to accommodate your redistricting criteria. So which of the redistricting criteria that we just discussed were you referring to when you said that?

SENATOR HUFFMAN: All of them.¹²²

¹¹⁹ This might be the result of adding *Shaw v. Reno*, 509 U.S. 630 (1993) to *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986).

¹²⁰ 515 U.S. 900, 916 (1995), italics supplied. I discuss this interpretation of *Miller* in *Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1999), 404-05.

¹²¹ Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript, at 7-23.

¹²² Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 40.

84. Later on in the same debate, Sen. Roland Gutierrez asked Sen. Huffman if a substitute Senate plan that split fewer counties might be preferable to the plan that she presented. Sen. Huffman replied “I don’t have an opinion on that.” He then noted that the RedAppl software that Sen. Huffman claimed to have used to draw districts contained three indices of compactness. She denied looking at any measures of compactness. Asked by Sen. Gutierrez whether a plan that was more compact than SB 4 (the Senate plan) would be “considered more fair, if you have better compactness?” Sen Huffman replied, “I would not say that is necessarily so.” Sen. Gutierrez next asked the same question about a plan with lower population deviations. Sen. Huffman: responded “not necessarily.” Since Sen. Huffman had listed protection of incumbents as one of the goals of her plan, Sen. Gutierrez asked whether a plan that protected more incumbents than SB 4 might be better. “Sen. Huffman: Again, I’m not going to engage in hypotheticals with you.” Sen. Gutierrez closed that part of his questioning by noting that “I’m using ‘more fair’ because these are words that you’ve used in previous hearings . . .”¹²³

C. Exclusion of Minority Legislators from Decisionmaking

85. Another aspect of the legislative process that raised questions concerning discriminatory intent was the exclusion of minority legislators and Members of Congress from the process of drawing districts. Perhaps the most notable incident in this regard was the pairing of two of the five Black members of Congress from the state, Harris County’s Sheila Jackson Lee and Al Green, whose homes were placed in the same congressional district in the plan introduced on the Senate floor.¹²⁴ Asked whether she ever spoke to either Rep. Lee or Rep. Green before presenting the plan, Sen. Huffman replied that she had not. Sen. Borris Miles, a Black State Senator from Harris County, brought out the consequences for the representation of voters, and not just for the careers of politicians, in his questioning of Sen. Huffman:

SENATOR MILES: And you did consider the interest of the communities of -- for the 18th and the 19th [congressional districts] as communities of color or African American?
SENATOR HUFFMAN: We did not consider race in drawing the maps at all, Senator Miles. It was not one of the considerations we used as -- as -- as you've stated, community of color. That was not a consideration.¹²⁵

Only after what the *Texas Tribune* called an “outcry from Jackson Lee’s constituents who spoke against the change in large numbers during a public hearing” during the last days of the legislative session was the pairing undone.¹²⁶

¹²³ Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 74-90.

¹²⁴ James Pollard, “Two Black Houston members of Congress decry redistricting map that pits them against each other as discriminatory/Despite the objections of U.S. Reps. Sheila Jackson Lee and Al Green, the Senate committee voted out the redrawn congressional map Monday without addressing the district overlap. The map heads next to the full Senate for a vote. *Texas Tribune*, Oct. 4, 2021, <https://www.texastribune.org/2021/10/04/texas-congressional-map-redistricting/>.

¹²⁵ Senate Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 30, 2021, transcript, at 43.

¹²⁶ Alexa Ura, “Texas Republicans send Gov. Greg Abbott a new congressional map that protects GOP power, reduces influence of voters of color/ After a few last-minute alterations, the state's new congressional districts are

86. Reps. Lee and Green were not the only racial minority members of Congress or the Legislature, and not the only representatives of any race who represented districts containing substantial percentages of minority voters who were excluded from decisionmaking about redistricting. They all were. The congressional maps were said to have been drawn initially by attorney Chris Gober, who had been employed by the Republican congressional delegation. The maps were reportedly amended afterwards by Sen. Huffman.¹²⁷ Sen. Huffman stated that she and her staff drew the Senate plans, and she denied that she had received substantial help from anyone else, although she admitted that “many people had input in the drawing of these maps.” She did not name any.¹²⁸

87. At first during the Oct. 4 House Redistricting Committee Hearing, Chair Todd Hunter asserted that he and his staff drew the plans for the House, basing them on drafts by the law firm of Butler Snow, a law firm headquartered in Mississippi with offices in Austin and other cities.¹²⁹ Hunter was immediately asked about the role of Adam Foltz, which had been exposed in the press in the previous week.¹³⁰

88. Foltz had designed districts for the Wisconsin Republican Party in 2011, and his sworn testimony in federal court claiming not to have been influenced by partisan factors was described by a three-judge panel as “almost laughable.” In Wisconsin, Foltz met with every Republican member of the Wisconsin State Assembly, but no Democrats, and even the Republicans and representatives of private business interests who met with him had to sign confidentiality agreements promising not to disclose anything that was said. The judicial panel described the Wisconsin process in which Foltz played a central role as “needlessly secret, regrettably excluding input from the overwhelming majority of Wisconsin citizens.” Significantly for someone hired to work on redistricting in Texas, the Wisconsin court found that the districts

drawn and await the scrutiny of federal courts. Already, one lawsuit has been filed claiming the new maps intentionally discriminate against Latino voters.” *Texas Tribune*, Oct. 18, 2021,

https://www.texastribune.org/2021/10/18/texas-congressional-maps-redistricting/?utm_source=Texas+Tribune+Newsletters&utm_campaign=46006e2eeb-trib-newsletters-breaking-alert&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_d9a68d8efc-46006e2eeb-101201265&mc_cid=46006e2eeb&mc_eid=782492c1.

¹²⁷ Senate Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 30, 2021, transcript, at 12-13 (statement of Sen. Huffman).

¹²⁸ Senate Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 24, 2021, transcript, at 16-17 (colloquy between Sens. Huffman and Powell).

¹²⁹ House Redistricting Committee Hearing, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 21 (statement of Rep. Todd Hunter); https://www.butlersnow.com/?utm_source=google&utm_medium=ppc&utm_term=none&utm_content=text_campaign_hp_brand&utm_campaign=20220110_bsn_2022.

¹³⁰ Alexa Ura, “Texas appears to be paying a secretive Republican political operative \$120,000 annually to work behind the scenes on redistricting/Adam Foltz, now on the Texas payroll, played a key role in Wisconsin’s redistricting last decade. A federal court threw out some of the maps and called the effort Foltz was involved in “an all but shameful attempt to hide the redistricting process from public scrutiny.” *Texas Tribune*, Sept. 29, 2021, https://www.texastribune.org/2021/09/29/texas-redistricting-adam-foltz/?utm_source=Texas+Tribune+Newsletters&utm_campaign=bd5289304b-trib-newsletters-breaking-alert&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_d9a68d8efc-bd5289304b-101201265&mc_cid=bd5289304b&mc_eid=78249492c1; Rick Casey, “The secretive expert behind the magic math of Texas’ proposed new electoral maps,” *San Antonio Report*, Oct. 5, 2021, <https://sanantonioreport.org/expert-behind-texas-proposed-new-electoral-maps/>.

drawn by Foltz and other consultants had violated Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act by failing to create a majority-minority district for Milwaukee's Latino community.¹³¹

89. Chair Hunter hired Foltz for \$120,000, arranging for him to be put on the payroll of the Texas Legislative Council.¹³² To an apparently incredulous House Democratic Caucus Chair Chris Turner, Chairman Hunter claimed that he hired Foltz because "he looked like a data person. . . . I do not know what happened in Wisconsin and did not even inquire." Rep. Hunter purported not to have heard anything about Mr. Foltz's role in Wisconsin or the Wisconsin federal judges' evaluation of Foltz, which Rep. Turner quoted at some length.¹³³ A traveling redistricting operative, Foltz was later involved in drafting Gov. Ron DeSantis's congressional redistricting plan in Florida, which collapsed two congressional districts currently held by African-American members of Congress.¹³⁴ That a person with such a well-known record as Foltz was hired to play a non-public role in Texas redistricting suggests a process designed to hide motives, perhaps including racial motives.

D. Restricted Chance to React to Plans

90. Not only were Democrats in general and minority legislators in particular excluded from the process of framing districts; they and the public were provided only a highly restricted opportunity to respond to the Republican plans. In the House, as Rep. Rafael Anchia pointed out during the Oct. 12 Floor Debate, a coalition of 50 civil rights and community organizations had sent letters to the redistricting committee before the special legislative session began asking for multiple hearings once a plan was introduced. But the House scheduled only one committee hearing after the introduction of plans, giving the public only three days' notice.¹³⁵ The organizations requested that experts on redistricting and voting rights be called to testify after the plans were made public. Denied. The organizations called for the hearings to include witnesses from the Texas Legislative Council and the Attorney General's office. None appeared. Because minority members were unaware of the cutoff date for proposing amendments to the plans or that the House Committee would vote on the plan and all amendments within 24 hours of the hearing,

¹³¹ *Baldus v. Members of the Wis. Gov't Accountability Bd.*, 849 F. Supp. 2d 840, 851, 845, 859, 860 (E.D. Wis. 2012).

¹³² House Redistricting Committee Hearing, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 21-23 (statement of Rep. Todd Hunter).

¹³³ House Redistricting Committee Hearing, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 24-26 (colloquy between Reps. Turner and Hunter); Alexa Ura, "Texas appears to be paying a secretive Republican political operative \$120,000 annually to work behind the scenes on redistricting/Adam Foltz, now on the Texas payroll, played a key role in Wisconsin's redistricting last decade. A federal court threw out some of the maps and called the effort Foltz was involved in "an all but shameful attempt to hide the redistricting process from public scrutiny." *Texas Tribune*, Sept. 29, 2021, https://www.texastribune.org/2021/09/29/texas-redistricting-adam-foltz/?utm_source=Texas+Tribune+Newsletters&utm_campaign=bd5289304b-trib-newsletters-breaking-alert&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_d9a68d8efc-bd5289304b-101201265&mc_cid=bd5289304b&mc_cid=78249492c1.

¹³⁴ <https://www.democracymonitor.com/alerts/what-happened-florida-redistricting/>, reporting on a hearing in the Florida Senate, April 20, 2022.

¹³⁵ Even though Rep. Lozano blamed the Democrats' quorum-breaking for the dearth of hearings on H2316, Rep. Anchia pointed out that the Democrats' trip to Washington preceded the Census Bureau's release of the data necessary for beginning to draw plans. House Journal, Eighty-Seventh Legislature, Third Called Session, Supplement, Oct. 12, 2021, at S20, 26.

they sent Chairman Hunter a letter asking for more time to debate and consider. Denied.¹³⁶ Republicans, but not Democrats were shown a draft of H2316 before it was introduced in the House Redistricting Committee.¹³⁷ As the veteran of many redistrictings, Rep. Senfronia Thompson put it, “we’ve never had such a short time to view those maps.”¹³⁸

91. According to Democratic Caucus Chair Chris Turner, the conduct of the House during this redistricting was unusual.

When the bill author offered the plan to the committee, he limited the layout period to an hour, spoke for most of that time, and then would only answer a few questions from committee members. Many of my [D]emocratic colleagues representing majority-minority districts were unable to ask questions. In committee, we were told to submit questions in writing. I talked to Chairman Hunter about that on the mic earlier. Never seen that before, but I submitted my questions in writing and I know other members did, too. Haven’t received a response.

For the first time in my legislative career, no resource witnesses were permitted to testify on the bill in the committee. We had no testimony from the secretary of state, from the Texas Legislative Council, or the Office of the Attorney General, which means that we have no idea if the plan proposed and amendments made subsequently, in the opinion of key state agencies—experts in the subject matter—if the plan or the amendments comply with state or federal law. . . .

So in committee, we heard public testimony and voted on amendment after amendment, most of which people hadn’t seen or people saw for the first time as they were laid out in the committee hearing the same day as the public testimony took place. Many of the amendments were not even fully prepared or available on DistrictViewer until shortly before and there was often no data or analysis and certainly no legal opinions that came with those amendments. Worst still, they were adopted in the middle of the night, just as this bill is about to be voted on in the middle of the night. One after another in committee, amendments offered by minority-preferred candidates elected to this body were rejected while Anglo member amendments that were offered were routinely accepted. Many of the amendments were objected to and voted down without argument, explanation, or rationale.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ House Journal, Eighty-Seventh Legislature, Third Called Session, Supplement, Oct. 12, 2021, at S9-10, 13.

¹³⁷ House Journal, Eighty-Seventh Legislature, Third Called Session, Supplement, Oct. 12, 2021, at S22 (colloquy between Reps. Lozano and Anchia).

¹³⁸ House Redistricting Committee Hearing, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript, Part 2, at 3.

¹³⁹ House Journal, Eighty-Seventh Legislature, Third Called Session, Supplement, Oct. 12, 2021, at S128-30.

XI. Statements by Important Participants

A. Ostensible Goals

92. The sixth factor, **statements** by important participants, which are referred to as "smoking gun" evidence if they are sufficiently incriminating, are difficult to come by, especially for laws passed in the very recent past. The leaders of the redistricting committees in the two houses of the Legislature repeated almost identical statements about their priorities and objectives in committee meetings and debates.

Sen. Joan Huffman: My goals and priorities in developing these proposed plans include, first and foremost, abiding by all applicable law; equalizing population across districts; preserving political subdivisions and communities of interest, when possible; preserving the cores of previous districts, to the extent possible; avoid- -- avoiding pairing incumbent members; achieving geographic compactness, when possible; and accommodating incumbent priorities, also when possible.¹⁴⁰

93. At the Sept. 28, 2021 Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sen. Huffman added "partisan considerations" to the list:

I'd like to remind everyone of the criteria I used in proposing and considering new districts. We focused on complying with all applicable law, including the Constitution, the Voting Rights Act, and the requirement to equalize district populations based on the 2020 census, focused on keeping political subdivisions together, keeping communities of interest together, preserving the cores of existing districts, creating geographically compact districts, addressing partisan considerations, protecting incumbents, and when possible honoring reasonable requests made by incumbent members.¹⁴¹

94. Reading from the same script, Rep. Todd Hunter laid out the considerations that led him to propose a congressional plan, remarking that the

Objectives that guided the approach to redistricting included complying with all applicable law, including the Constitution, the Voting Rights Act, the requirement to equalize district populations based on the 2020 census, keeping political subdivisions together, keeping communities of interest together, preserving the cores of existing districts, creating geographically compact districts, addressing partisan considerations, protecting incumbents, and when possible, honoring requests made by incumbent members.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Senate Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 24, 2021, transcript at 7. Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 3. Sen. Huffman used almost exactly the same words about her plan for the State Board of Education, transcript at 131.

¹⁴¹ Senate Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 28, 2021, transcript at 5-6. Huffman also included partisan considerations in her discussion of her congressional plan. Senate Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 30, 2021, transcript at 5-6, and Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 8, 2021, transcript at 4.

¹⁴² House Redistricting Committee Hearing, Oct. 13, 2021, transcript at 5.

95. Such formulaic statements, no doubt carefully drafted by counsel with future litigation in mind, must be evaluated against evidence of the actions embodied in the plans. And the stated goals may be incompatible with each other. Compliance with laws and the constitution are just the issues involved in the instant case. The necessity of equalizing population between districts may prevent keeping political subdivisions, even county units, together. Allowed population deviations in legislative districts may facilitate partisan choices, as we will see below, in ways that previous courts have found illegal. In places where minority, but not majority ethnic groups are growing rapidly, the goals of protecting incumbents and preserving the cores of existing districts may rationalize discriminating against minorities. And where, as in Texas in 2021, race and party are inextricably intertwined, partisan and racial gerrymandering may be indistinguishable – as easy as switching the shading variables on a RedAppl screen.

B. Sen. Huffman’s Alleged Race Blindness

96. Although I have not found any forthright admissions of racial motives by proponents of the redistricting plans, the very vehemence of their denials may be instructive. “The lady doth protest too much, methinks,” says Hamlet’s remarried mother Gertrude of an actor who swears she will never remarry after the death of her husband.

97. So it is with Sen. Joan Huffman’s almost robotic repetition of the mantra “We drew these maps race-blind. . . . I drafted all of the proposed maps totally blind to race.” During the Sept. 24 and Sept. 28 Senate Redistricting Committee Meetings and the Oct. 4, 2021 Senate Floor Debate on the Senate map, Sen. Huffman repeated this formula at least 25 times. Should we accept these statements at face value?

98. There are two reasons not to do so. First, Sen. Huffman was careful to say that before she began to draw the districts, the geographical areas were reviewed for compliance with the Voting Rights Act by unnamed lawyers,¹⁴³ presumably to determine whether they contained potential districts that might have to be drawn to satisfy *Gingles*, however the lawyers interpreted that case and its progeny. And after Sen. Huffman had drawn the districts, other or perhaps the same lawyers or sometimes Sen. Huffman herself reviewed the district lines to make sure that they did, in fact, comply with Section 2 Voting Rights Act standards.¹⁴⁴ But to make such determinations before and after, the lawyers would have had to be exquisitely race conscious. So what Sen. Huffman’s race blindness statements can mean at most is that there was an interval during the longer process of constructing districts between periods of the most intensive race consciousness in which she blinded herself to geographical racial demographics – as in the children’s game of going into a room and trying not to think of elephants.

99. Second, when alternative plans were discussed during debate¹⁴⁵ or when Sen. Huffman defended her plans on the grounds that there was no retrogression in minority performing

¹⁴³ Senate Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 28, 2021, transcript at 10-12 (statement of Sen. Huffman).

¹⁴⁴ Senate Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 28, 2021, transcript at 10-12 (statement of Sen. Huffman); Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 63, 67-68 (colloquies between Sen. Huffman and Sens. Powell and Menendez).

¹⁴⁵ Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 114-17, 127-29 (discussions of plans 2129, 2132, 2134, and 2142 by Sen. Huffman).

districts, she was quick to cite racial statistics,¹⁴⁶ showing the exact knowledge that one would expect of a redistricting expert immersed in the politics and demography of every corner of the state.

100. Sen. Huffman faced a dilemma. By her interpretation of certain Supreme Court opinions, she had to close her eyes to race.¹⁴⁷ But her implicit interpretations of other cases required her to be very conscious of race in order to avoid violating the Voting Rights Act. As Rep. Chris Turner remarked of Huffman's dilemma, "is it possible to draw something blind to race but then also provide a list of – of districts where – you delineating which ones are majority-minority or minority coalition districts?"¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, even though she unconvincingly denied it,¹⁴⁹ she must have known, as a veteran Texas politician, that race and partisanship were highly correlated, and that therefore, she could easily substitute one for the other on the RedAppl software by pressing a key and switching the variable providing the shading.¹⁵⁰ And as noted above, Sen. Huffman acknowledged that partisan political considerations played a role in her decisions about where to draw lines.¹⁵¹ Even if it was the fault of the law that Sen. Huffman could not be blind to race, both her admissions and her denials undercut the credibility of her "race blind" stance.

C. The More Openly Race-Conscious Rep. Todd Hunter

101. Unlike Chair Huffman, Chair Hunter did not use the phrase "blind to race" or any close equivalent during the House Floor Debate of Oct. 12. In discussing compliance with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, Rep. Hunter was the opposite of race blind.

Now, it's true that in some majority-minority districts, the CVAP decreases, but in some of these instances the reductions were unavoidable, and most importantly, in none of these instances was the minority's ability to elect their preferred candidate of choice affected materially. In almost all instances, these districts will continue to overwhelmingly elect the minority-preferred candidate. Now, in 2010, we had 35 majority Hispanic districts. Under our 2020 census numbers benchmark, we had 36. **CSHB 1** that is before you adds two, for a total of 38. Under our 2020 census numbers, the benchmark plan, we had only one African American majority district. **CSHB 1** now adds one, for a total of two.¹⁵²

Questioned by Rep. Anchia as to whether racially polarized voting was "considered in developing these maps," Rep. Hunter replied, "To my knowledge, yes."¹⁵³

¹⁴⁶ Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 67-68 (colloquy between Sens. Menendez and Huffman).

¹⁴⁷ Senate Redistricting Committee Hearing, Sept. 24, 2021, transcript at 25-26 (statement of Sen. Huffman).

¹⁴⁸ House Floor Debate, Oct. 11, 2021, transcript at 8.

¹⁴⁹ Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 59 (colloquy between Sens. Powell and Huffman).

¹⁵⁰ Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 14-15, 95-97 (colloquies between Sens. Powell, Eckhardt, and Huffman).

¹⁵¹ Senate Floor Debate, Oct. 4, 2021, transcript at 17-20 (statement of Sen. Huffman).

¹⁵² House Journal, Eighty-Seventh Legislature, Third Called Session, Supplement, Oct. 12, 2021, at S2-3.

¹⁵³ House Journal, Eighty-Seventh Legislature, Third Called Session, Supplement, Oct. 12, 2021, at S29-30.

102. In presenting the congressional plan to the House, Chair Hunter was also preoccupied with racial concerns:

The benchmark plan, there were nine Hispanic majority districts. In this plan, there are also nine Hispanic majority districts. In the benchmark, there were eight Hispanic citizen voting age districts, and under this plan submitted to us by the Senate, there are seven. However, there are amendments to be considered that could increase these numbers if they're adopted.

There are no Black or African American majority districts under the benchmark, and that remains through under the plan submitted to us by the Senate.¹⁵⁴

103. Chair Hunter evidenced the same fixation when laying out the proposed Senate map:

Seven majority-minority Hispanic voting age population districts, HVAP as it's sometimes called, and the districts are 6, 19, 20, 21, 26, 27 and 29.

They also indicate there were seven minority coalition VAP districts, District 7, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 23.¹⁵⁵

104. And he also did in laying out the plan for the State Board of Education:

There are four majority-minority Hispanic HVAP districts. Those are Districts 1, 2, 3 and 4.

District 4 has an HCVAP at 38.6 percent, but political performance strongly elects a Democrat at 28 percent Republican from that data.

Three minority coalition VAP districts, that's District 7, 8, 13.¹⁵⁶

105. In order to comply with Section 2, there was no escaping self-consciously drawing districts with racial concerns front and center, and in Chair Hunter's presentations, such concerns predominated.

D. The Silence of the Attorney/Consultants

106. More important than words of the committee chairs, however, was the fact that decisions on line drawing and the legal validity of various plans were perpetrated offstage, like murders in a Greek tragedy, except that the actors never appeared on stage thereafter to explain themselves. The chairs freely acknowledged their dependence on the attorneys and acknowledged that they were unsure what criteria the attorneys applied. For instance, during the Oct. 12, 2021 House Floor debate, Chair Hunter explained concerning the legal criteria that were used in developing and evaluating plans

So I relied on counsel. Had them look at all the members' submissions and all the maps that were produced. Had them look at it. Did I personally go? No, we had them look at it.

¹⁵⁴ House Floor Debate, Oct. 16, 2021, transcript, at 8.

¹⁵⁵ House Redistricting Committee Meeting, Oct. 11, 2021, transcript, at 4.

¹⁵⁶ House Redistricting Committee Meeting, Oct. 11, 2021, transcript, at 15.

They advised that all the criteria was looked at and it met the criteria. Do I personally rely on those folks? The answer is yes, which is what we did. Am I able to tell you some of the specific criteria? No, but if I get a global comment that it's fine, I go with that, just like you do with your group.¹⁵⁷

At the end of the debate over the House map, Democratic Caucus Chair Chris Turner charged that that plan had been drawn by Adam Foltz and noted that Foltz “has not been made available to testify in the Redistricting Committee as to why he drew the plan as he did and what principles and data he relied upon when he did so.”¹⁵⁸

E. Rejected Amendments as Suggestive of the Framers’ Intentions

107. Although it would be unwise to interpret the statements of opponents of redistricting or other lies as firm evidence of the motives of proponents of those laws, it may be instructive to list proposed amendments that the House, which held the most extensive discussions of the redistricting bills, rejected. The amendments emphasize some of the choices that were available to the proponents, and in that sense, the exercise may shed light on the proponents’ motives. The vast majority of Black, Latino, and Asian-American representatives supported the amendments. Amendment 1 by Rep. Rafael Anchia struck the enacting clause of the State House redistricting bill, proposing to start over.¹⁵⁹ Amendment 2 by House Democratic Caucus Chair Chris Turner named the House districts that “performed” for minorities and stated that they should be protected.¹⁶⁰ Amendment 3 by Rep. Toni Rose, who is Black, required preclearance of the redistricting bill by a federal district court before it could go into effect, essentially applying the pre-*Shelby County* Section 5 preclearance mechanism.¹⁶¹ Amendment 4 by Rep. Gene Wu, who is Asian-American, required the Secretary of State to undertake and publish a study of the impact of the redistricting bill on each racial and ethnic minority group.¹⁶²

108. A series of amendments set out plans meant to demonstrate that H2316 eliminated or failed to create districts that minorities could control, sometimes with the help of non-Hispanic whites or other minority groups. Amendment 5, by Rep. Anchia, demonstrated that it was possible to increase the number of House districts with Hispanic CVAP majorities from 30 to 43, while increasing the number of Black districts with CVAPs over 40% and creating two new Asian influence and coalition districts. As critics pointed out, it paired many incumbents.¹⁶³ Amendment 6 by Rep. Nicole Collier, Vice-Chair of the Legislative Black Caucus, restored the number of Black CVAP majority districts from 4 in H2316 to the number in the Benchmark Plan, 7, partly by reducing the packing in two districts which already performed for Black voters. One of the districts it restored was a currently performing Black district in Bell County, which it preserved by reuniting Killeen, which H2316 split for no stated reason. It also provided what its sponsor characterized as 3 new minority opportunity districts in Tarrant, Fort Bend, and Travis

¹⁵⁷ House Journal, Eighty-Seventh Legislature, Third Called Session, Supplement, Oct. 12, 2021, at S30.

¹⁵⁸ House Journal, Eighty-Seventh Legislature, Third Called Session, Supplement, Oct. 12, 2021, at S128.

¹⁵⁹ House Journal, Eighty-Seventh Legislature, Third Called Session, Supplement, Oct. 12, 2021, at S9-26.

¹⁶⁰ *Id.*, at S26-32.

¹⁶¹ *Id.*, at S32-34.

¹⁶² *Id.*, at S34-40.

¹⁶³ *Id.*, at S40-43. This amendment was withdrawn and not voted on.

Counties, although the districts had non-Hispanic white CVAP majorities.¹⁶⁴ Amendment 7 by Rep. Anchia was another statewide map, but it paired many fewer Republican incumbents than Amendment 5. It unpaired two Latino incumbents in El Paso while balancing the population numbers in districts in El Paso. (On this issue, see Section XII.E. of this report, below). And it reversed H2316's decrease in the Latino proportions in 5 districts.¹⁶⁵

109. Other amendments were designed to point to what the authors believed were discriminations within the H2316 plan in smaller areas or particular counties. Amendment 8 by Rep. Anchia reversed the retrogression of two performing Latino districts in Harris, one in Dallas, and 3 in South Texas, assertedly without reducing majority-Republican seats. It also drew a majority Hispanic CVAP district in Travis County.¹⁶⁶ Amendment 9 redrew districts in Brazoria County, which had recently experienced explosive growth of Latinos, Blacks, and Asian-Americans, to create a minority coalition district and reverse what the sponsor, Rep. Ron Reynolds a Black legislator from neighboring Fort Bend County, characterized as the dilution of the minority communities under H2316.¹⁶⁷ The defeat of Amendment 9 contrasted starkly with the quick adoption of Amendment 10, which swapped areas in Brazoria County between two Republican incumbents, and Amendments 11 and 12, which made small, unexplained changes in Republican districts in Collin and Denton Counties.¹⁶⁸ Amendment 13, by Rep. Michelle Beckley, a liberal white Democrat, sought to restore a performing minority coalition district, HD 65, in Denton County, which had been split up by H2316, increasing the Anglo CVAP from 54% to 64%. It also reversed city splits.¹⁶⁹

110. Amendment 18 sought to reverse the division of the African-American community in Killeen, which H2316 had split. Killeen had a Latino mayor, and 6 of 7 City Council members were Black, and the House district proposed by Amendment 18 would have had a Black and Latino population majority of nearly two-thirds. This was an amendment that Rep. Yvonne Davis, who is Black, had been advocating for through two redistricting cycles. Like all the other amendments put forth by minority legislators, it failed.¹⁷⁰ Amendment 19, also by Rep. Davis, sought to create a minority coalition district by combining parts of the city of Tyler with Gregg County.¹⁷¹ Amendment 22, by Rep. Joe Moody, who is Latino, dealt with the fact that the population in El Paso County had grown too slowly to preserve its former 5 districts wholly within the county. Rather than overpopulate Latino districts in the area, as H2316 did, it redrew numerous districts in West Texas in a domino effect on counties with small populations. The Moody Amendment will be treated at some length in Section XII F, below.¹⁷² Amendment 23, also by Rep. Moody, rearranged small areas of districts in El Paso. It passed.¹⁷³ Amendments

¹⁶⁴ *Id.*, at S43-56.

¹⁶⁵ *Id.*, at S56-64.

¹⁶⁶ *Id.*, at S64-66.

¹⁶⁷ *Id.*, at S66-71.

¹⁶⁸ *Id.*, at S71.

¹⁶⁹ *Id.*, at S72-74. Beckley lost a runoff for the Democratic nomination for Lt. Gov. in May 2022.

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/05/24/us/elections/results-texas-runoffs.html>. Beckley had flipped HD 65 in 2018 and won reelection in 2020.

¹⁷⁰ *Id.*, at S75-80. Amendments 15-17 by Anglo Republican members passed without debate.

¹⁷¹ *Id.*, at S80-81.

¹⁷² *Id.*, at S82-88.

¹⁷³ *Id.*, at S88.

24-25 were sponsored by the bipartisan Dallas County delegation that joined certain cities and communities of interest that had been split in H2316. It passed.¹⁷⁴ Amendment 27 was a unanimous bipartisan plan from the Harris County delegation, which restored some communities of interest and balanced the population between districts. Amendments 28-34 interchanged areas between pairs of districts in Harris County and had been negotiated between individual representatives. All of these noncontroversial amendments were adopted.¹⁷⁵ Amendments 36-37 by Rep. J.M. Lozano, a Republican, was offered at the last minute without clearing it with members from the Rio Grande Valley. (Republicans had criticized several Democratic amendments on the grounds that they were not discussed or negotiated with members from the affected areas.) In the previous legislature, Cameron County had two seats wholly within the county. Even though there was no need to gain or lose population from any other county, the Lozano amendment split the county and joined part of it to a district from Willacy and Hidalgo Counties. Despite the furor that the Brownsville/Harlingen switch caused, the amendment passed.¹⁷⁶ Amendment 41 by Rep. Turner, joined minority communities of interest in Tarrant County that H2316 split, as well as preventing the retrogression below 50% Hispanic CVAP of HD 90. It failed.¹⁷⁷ A raft of other minor amendments generally ratified swaps between pairs of districts.

111. Because many, perhaps most of the most important developers of redistricting plans did not have to go on record as to why they drew the lines in the ways they did – indeed, because we cannot know who drew or revised what, or what criteria they actually used – it is necessary to rely most heavily on objective facts about the shape and demographic/political configurations of the districts in order to discover the intentions with which they were drawn. As a consequence, it is virtually useless to examine the backgrounds and other actions of key decisionmakers, as is usual in intentional discrimination cases, because we don't know their identities.

XII. Provisions of the Law: District Lines and Demography

112. Because the actions, thoughts, and even the identities of those who designed the redistricting plans for seats in the Texas legislature, the Board of Education, and Congress in 2021 are shrouded from the view of the public and of experts, one must put more emphasis on objective facts concerning the shapes of districts and their demographic and partisan contours than on the dubious, contradictory, or just plain nonexistent statements of the framers. Objective evidence about the overall patterns of redistricting plans may facilitate understanding of the motives behind the lines of individual districts.

A. Congressional District Statistics

113. Figure 10A, which parallels Figure 4A, above, compares the non-Hispanic white percentage in the benchmark congressional plan – i.e., the plan in force for the 2020 election – with the non-

¹⁷⁴ *Id.*, at S88-94.

¹⁷⁵ *Id.*, at S94-97.

¹⁷⁶ *Id.*, at S97-112.

¹⁷⁷ *Id.*, at S112-18.

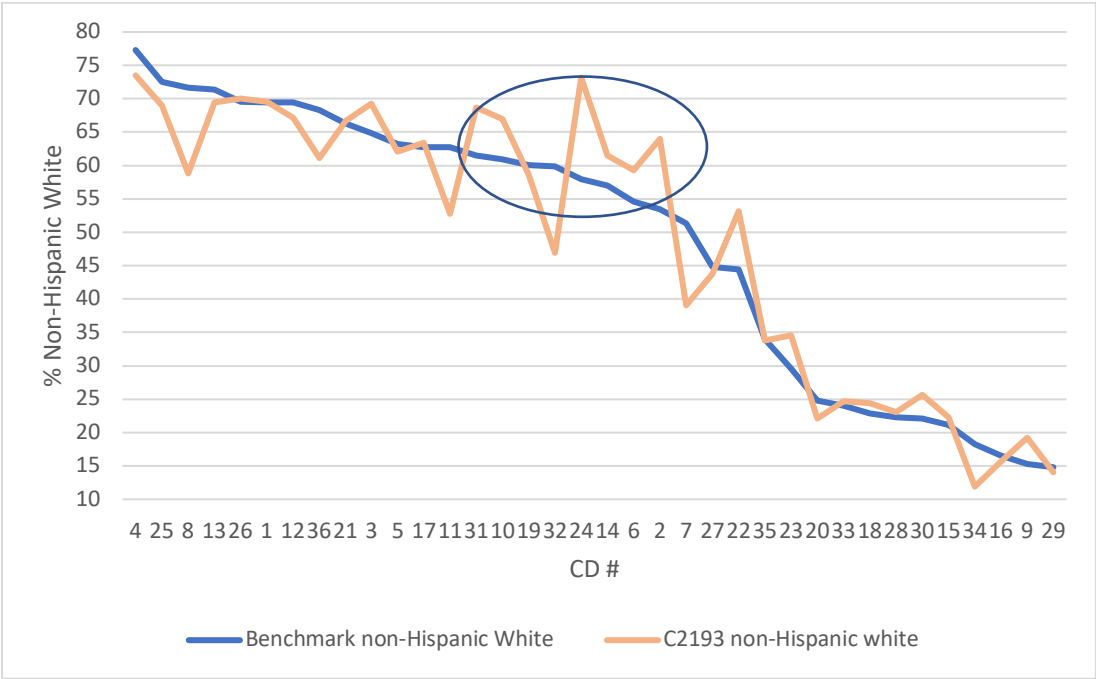
Hispanic white percentage by the districts that will be in effect in 2022 under Plan C2193, the one adopted by the Texas legislature in 2021. The congressional districts are ordered by the proportion non-Hispanic white in the benchmark plan.¹⁷⁸ Figure 10 B also orders the congressional districts by non-Hispanic white percent in the benchmark plan, but it displays the percentage for Donald J. Trump in the 2020 election, first in the 2020 districts, and then in the districts that will be used in 2022.

114. There are three things to note in the two Figure 10 graphs. First, the percentage non-Hispanic white in districts where the non-Hispanic white percentage was either very high or very low did not change much from the 2020 plan to the 2022 plan. That is, the two lines in the northwest and southeast portions of the graph are pretty similar to each other. The same is true with the percentages for President Trump in Figure 10B, where the lines both go up and down a lot, but the blue and orange lines track each other closely. Second, the big changes are concentrated in the center, where I have inserted ellipses in both graphs to focus attention. These are the most ethnically equal and politically competitive districts. Where the orange line is above the blue line in Figure 10A, the redistricters added whites or subtracted people of color in order to cement white majorities. The mean non-Hispanic white percentage in districts 31, 10, 14, 24, 6, and 2 in the center of Figure 10A increased from 57.6% in the benchmark plan to 65.6% in Plan C2193. Given population trends in the 2010s, a congressional district that was just above the competitive level at the beginning of the decade could be expected to become majority-minority or nearly so by the end of the decade. These changes insured that these congressional districts would remain majority-majority for all or most of the decade of the 2020s. Third, the changes in Figure 10B strongly parallel those in Figure 10A. In the same 6 congressional districts in the center of the graph, the average percentage for Donald Trump in 2020 was 51.1%, compared to 59.7% in the C2193 districts. Because of such strongly racially polarized voting, racial and partisan majorities were inextricably linked. This suggests that the motives behind the changes in the districts were, as well.

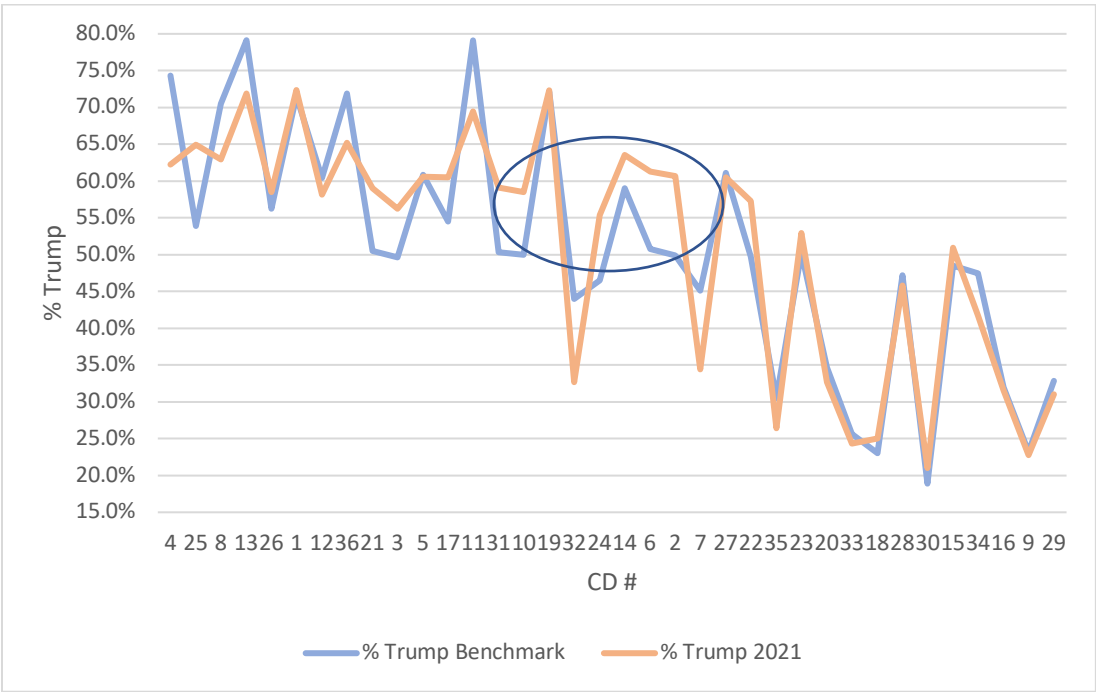
¹⁷⁸ Left out of these figures are the two new districts, because they could not be compared directly with the Benchmark Plan. The new 37th and 38th CDs were both above 60% non-Hispanic white, with the former, expected to be won by a Democrat in the most heavily Democratic county, Travis, in the state in the 2020 election, while the other, in the Houston suburbs, was expected to be Republican. For the 2020 vote in Texas by county, see <https://www.politico.com/2020-election/results/texas/>.

Figure 10: Non-Hispanic White and % Republican in Benchmark Plan and Plan C2193

A. % Non-Hispanic White in Benchmark and Plan C2193



B. % Trump, 2020, in Benchmark and Plan C2193



B. Congressional District Maps

115. The demographic and partisan statistics give an overview. Changes in districts were concentrated in demographic/partisan swing districts, and they had the effect of maintaining non-Hispanic white/Republican control. Since redistricting is one of the most patently self-conscious, self-interested actions that any political leader or operative ever takes, observers generally take the effects of a redistricting as strong evidence of its intent. Maps showing changes in individual districts, placed alongside ethnic statistics on CVAP, which are strongly related to potential voting strength, provide another way to assess racially discriminatory motives.

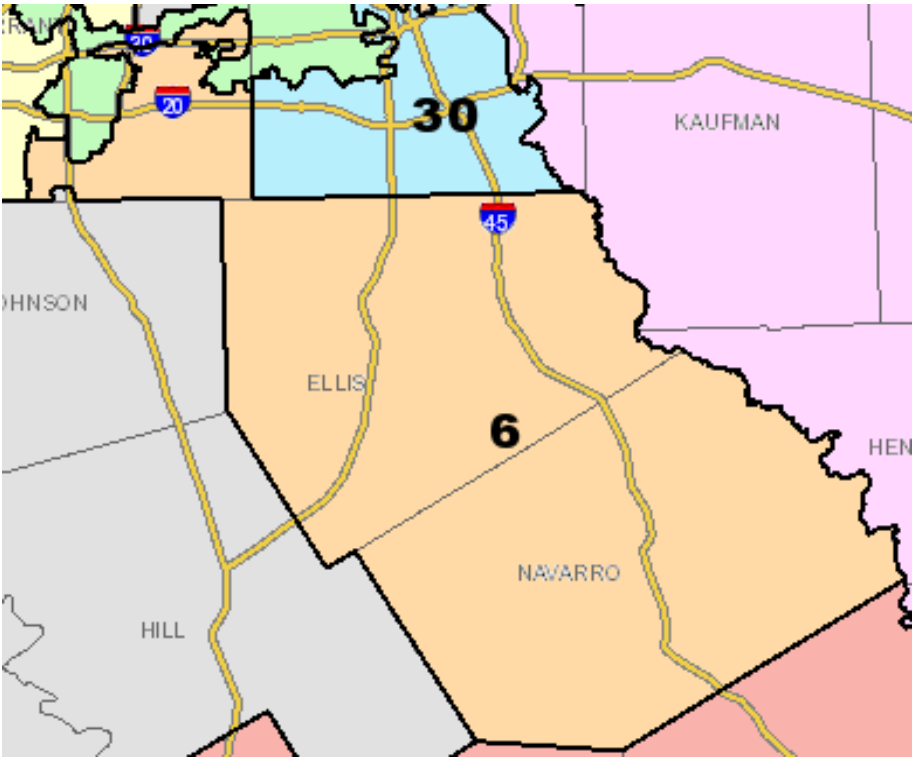
116. Figure 11 focuses on perhaps the best example of a district that carried on the 2011 strategy in the Dallas/Fort Worth Metroplex that I discussed above in Figures 1 and 2 – extend a tentacle into urban minority areas and join overwhelmingly non-Hispanic white suburban/exurban/rural areas to it to dilute the minority vote.¹⁷⁹ Figure 11a shows the beginning of that strategy in 2011. But apparently the near-in suburbs in Ellis and Navarro Counties could no longer offset Metroplex minorities by 2021, so CD6 had to be expanded to five more counties – Hill, Freestone, Anderson, Cherokee, and part of Johnson. As the insert beside the maps points out, this addition was enough to increase the Anglo (non-Hispanic white) CVAP majority from 54.6% to 59.3% -- from competitive to bordering on landslide. If the map of CD12 in *Shaw v. Reno* was indicative of racial motivation, as the Supreme Court held,¹⁸⁰ then so should the map of CD6 be.

¹⁷⁹ For a similar analysis, see Alexa Ura and Mandi Cai, “With surgical precision, republicans draw two congressional districts that dilute power of Hispanic and Asian voters/The GOP is losing its hold on suburbs of Dallas and Fort Worth as they grow more diverse. Two proposed districts show how far the party is reaching to entrench rural, white electoral power.” Texas Tribune, Oct. 15, 2021, <https://www.texastribune.org/2021/10/15/texas-redistricting-dallas-fort-worth/>.

¹⁸⁰ 509 U.S. 630, 647 (1993) (“... we believe that reapportionment is one area in which appearances do matter.”)

Figure 11: CD 6: Extended to Bring In More Rural Whites

A. The Benchmark District 6 (Plan C2100)



CVAP

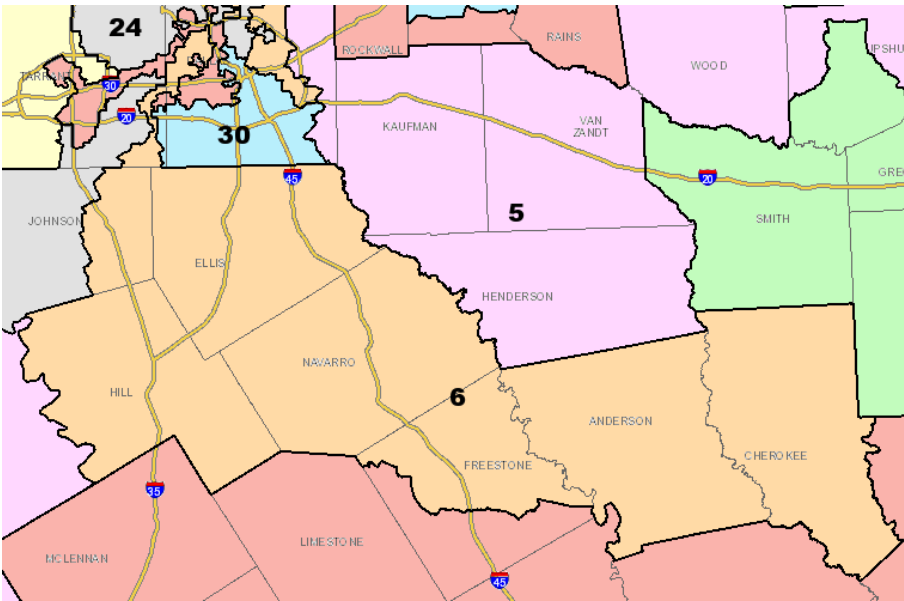
Anglo 54.6

Hispanic 17.5

Black 21.3

Asian 4.1

B. The New District 6 (Plan C2193)



CVAP

Anglo 59.3

Hispanic 21.3

Black 14.8

Asian 2.6

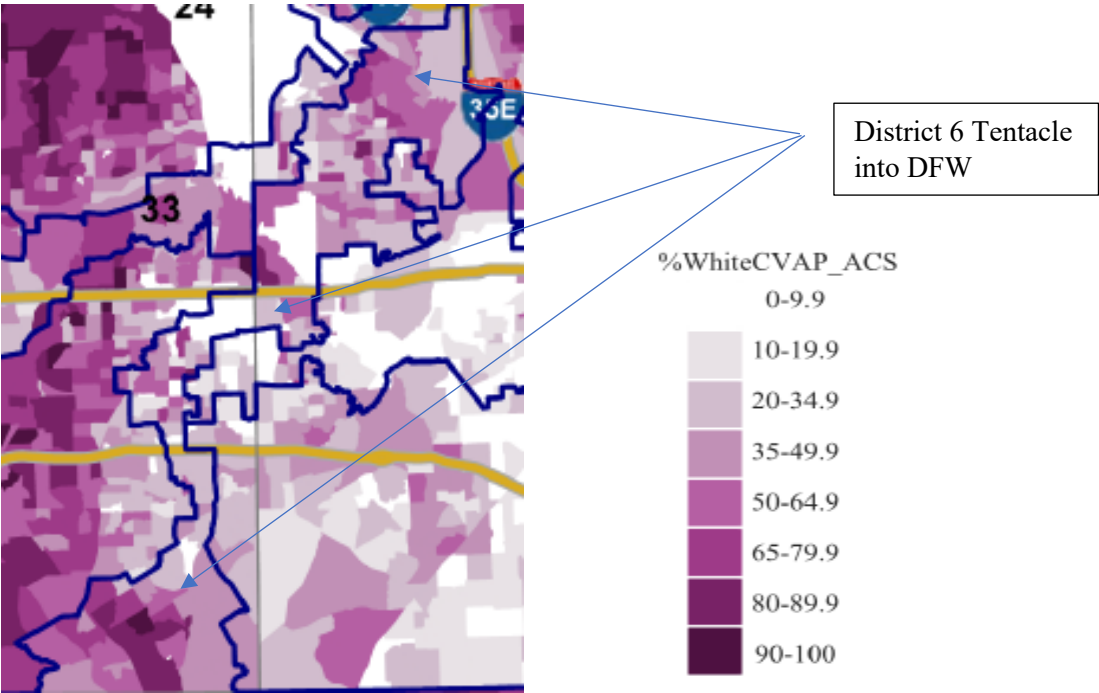
117. Figure 12 demonstrates the close relationship between areas of racial concentration and those of party concentration for two districts – CD 6 and SD 10. Many more such maps could be drawn to make the same point. It is meant to give the reader a sense of how easy it would be for a map-drawer using RedAppl or any other sophisticated mapping software to focus on race or party interchangeably. Thus, an admission, as by the chairs of the redistricting committees in each house, Rep. Hunter and Sen. Huffman, that they employed partisan statistics in drawing their maps is tantamount to an admission that they used race. Only if they blinded themselves to both race and party could they blind themselves to race.

118. To simplify the figures, I have shown close-ups of the Tarrant or Tarrant/Dallas portions of each district. Figure 12 A shows the non-Hispanic white population scaled so that increasingly white parts appear as increasingly non-white. The tentacle obviously reaches into Dallas to grab a non-white part of the metropolitan area. Part B looks at the same area with CD 6 outlined, showing that President Trump ran worst in areas that were least Anglo, the same ones that were lightest in Figure 12 A.

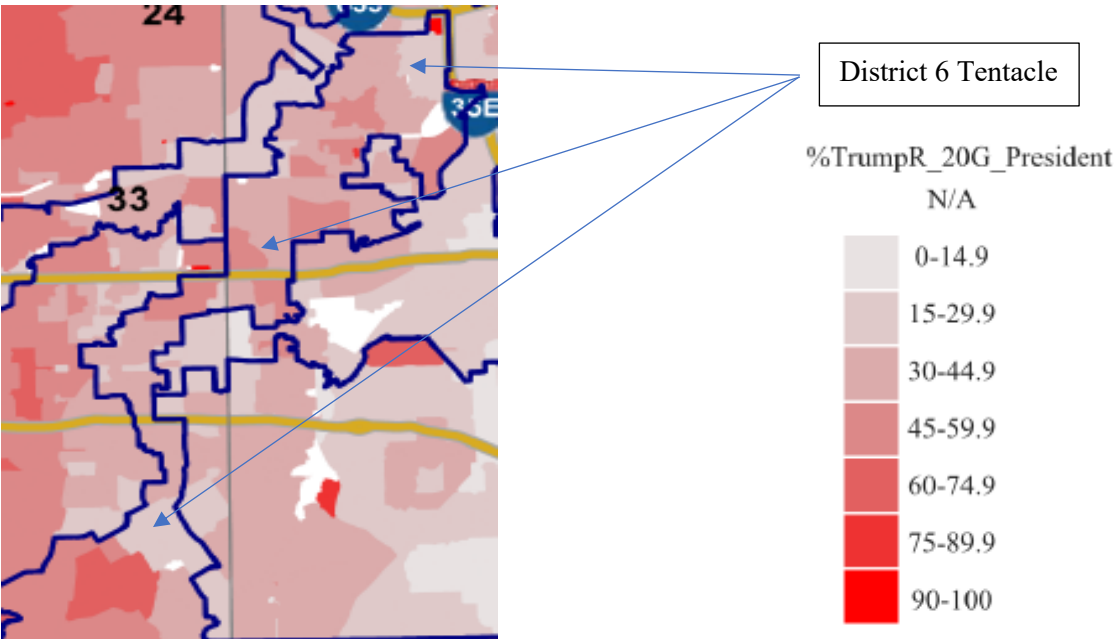
119. Figures 12 C and D repeat the exercise for the part of SD 10 that is now left in Tarrant County (see below for more discussion), and a bit of SD 10 south of Tarrant County, showing again the interchangeability of race and party during the redistricting process. In looking at all the rest of the district maps, the reader may be able to imagine where the non-Anglo population is. In most instances, that is also where the Democratic vote will be concentrated.

Figure 12: Race and Partisanship Are Virtually Interchangeable on Texas Redistricting Maps

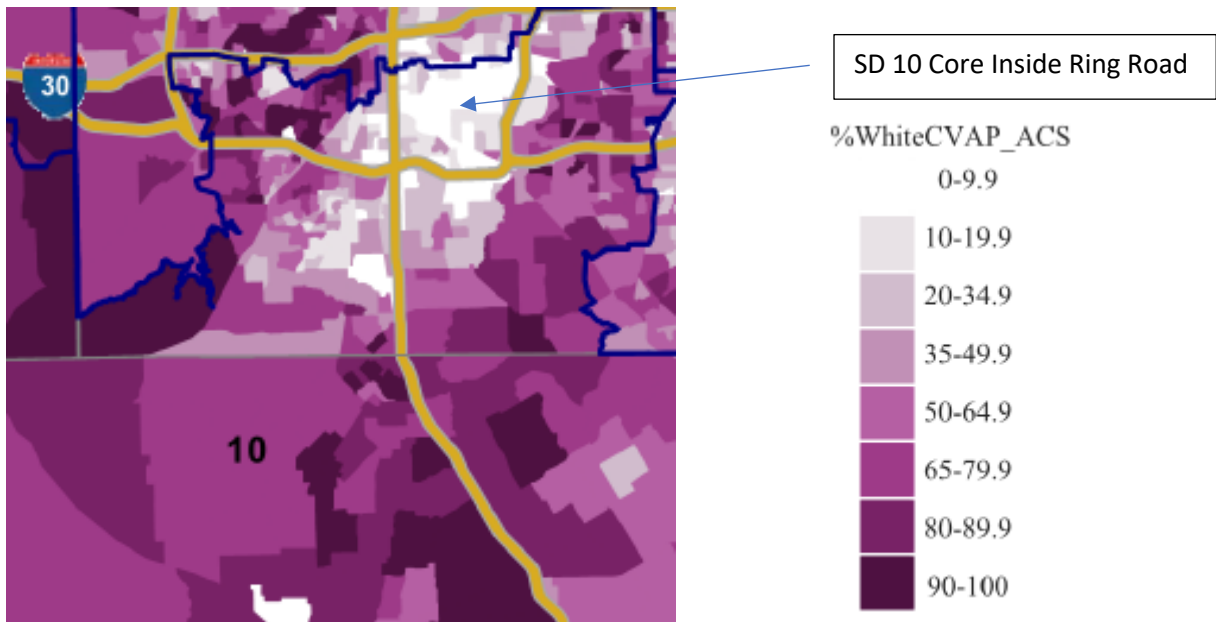
A. % Non-Hispanic White in the Area of CD6, Plan C2193



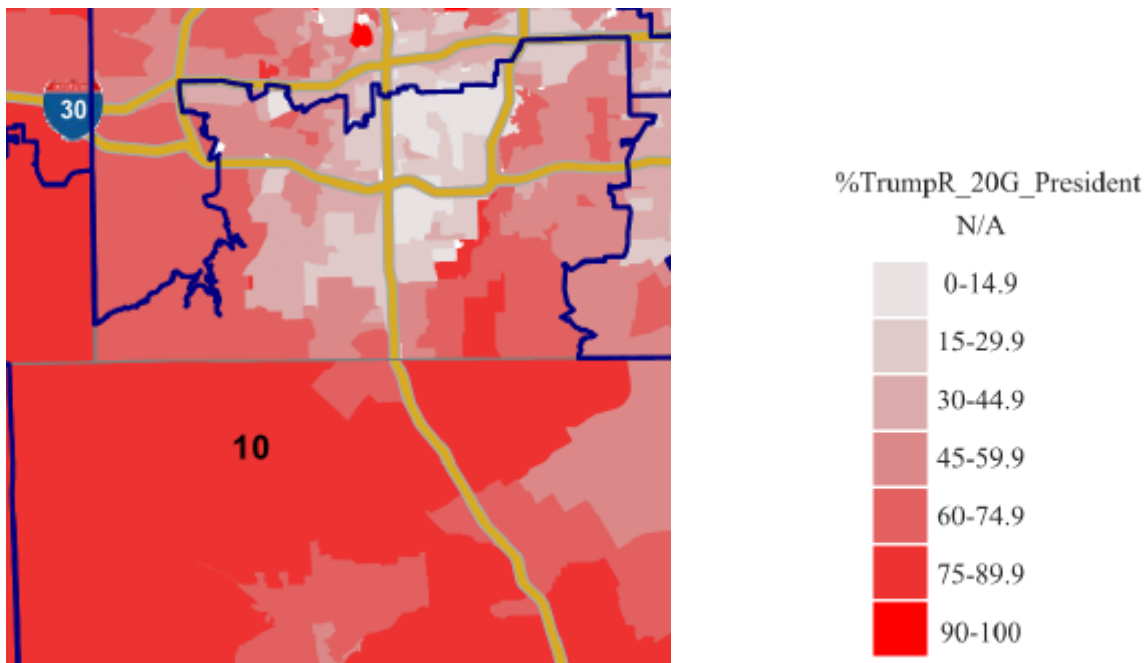
B. Trump % in Area of CD6, Plan C2193



C. % Non-Hispanic White in the Area of SD10, Plan 2168



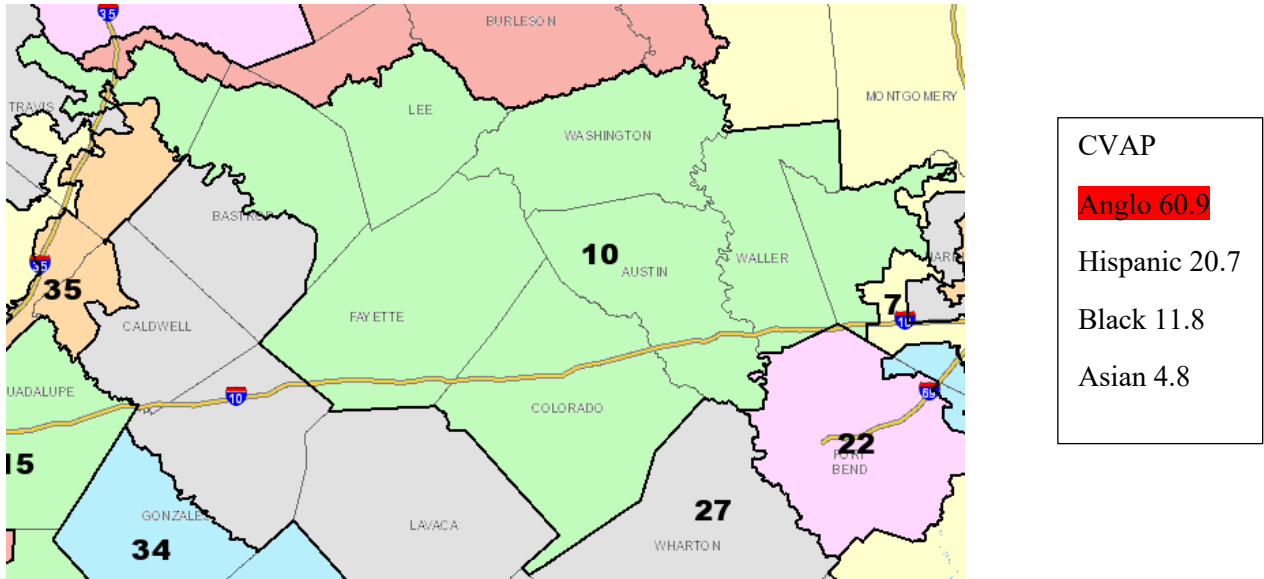
D. % Trump in Area of SD10, Plan 2168



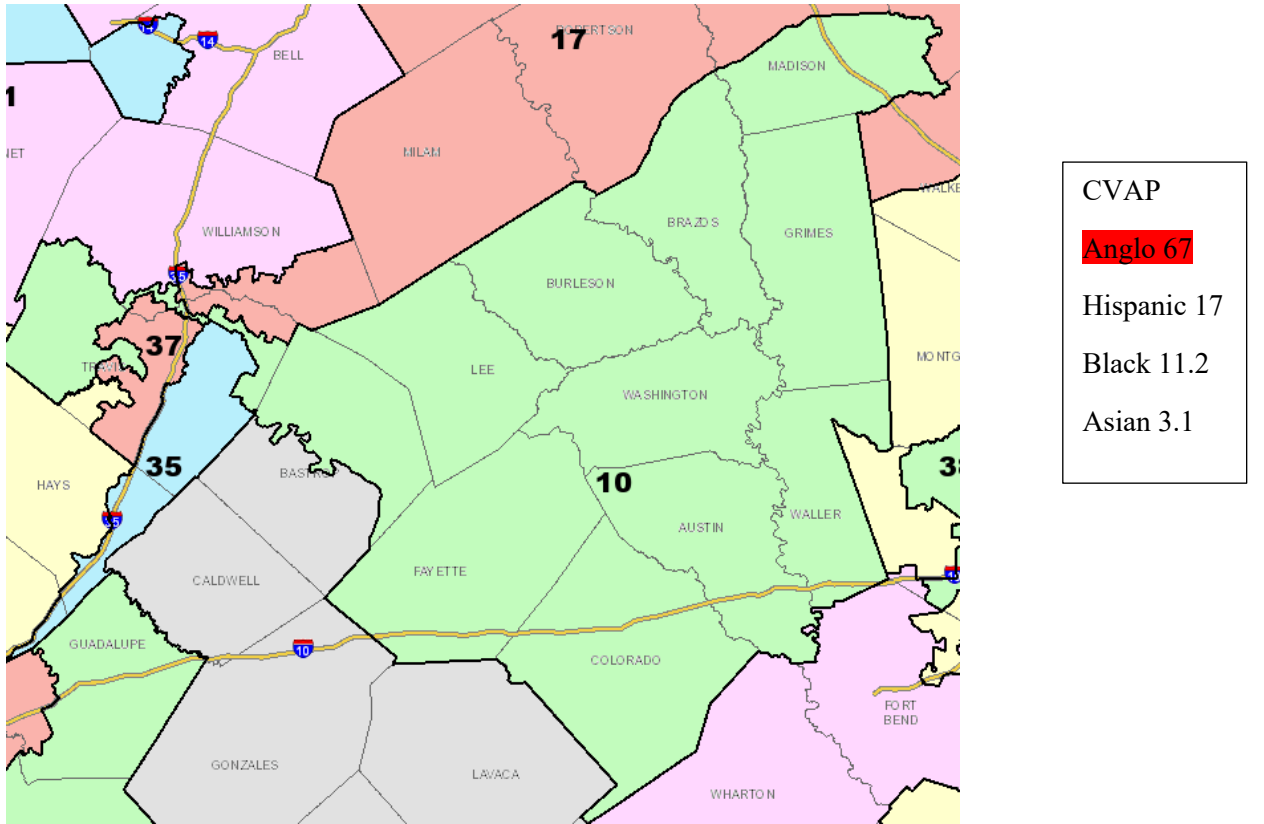
120. Figure 13 shows map-drawers using the same strategy in the Austin area as they did in the Metroplex. As with CD 6 in 2011, CD 10 in 2011 reached into Travis County, extracted some minority voters, and then expanded into suburbia and exurbia. But the Anglo portion of the district was not high enough for comfort because non-Hispanic whites in Travis County were notoriously more liberal than those elsewhere in the state. Sixty-one percent Anglo might not be enough to maintain control in the hands of reliably conservative Anglos for long. CD 10 was therefore extended in Plan C2193 to four more relatively rural counties and awkwardly squeezed through a narrow corridor where it found a jackpot of not so liberal Travis County whites, shedding Hispanics, Blacks, and Asian-Americans as it went. The deliberate increase of non-Hispanic whites and decrease of people of color in order to buttress control by the party of most whites may be considered to have been motivated by race.

Figure 13: CD 10 Was Extended to Bring in More Rural Whites, Squeezed to Find Whiter Areas in Travis

A. CD 10, Benchmark, Plan C2100



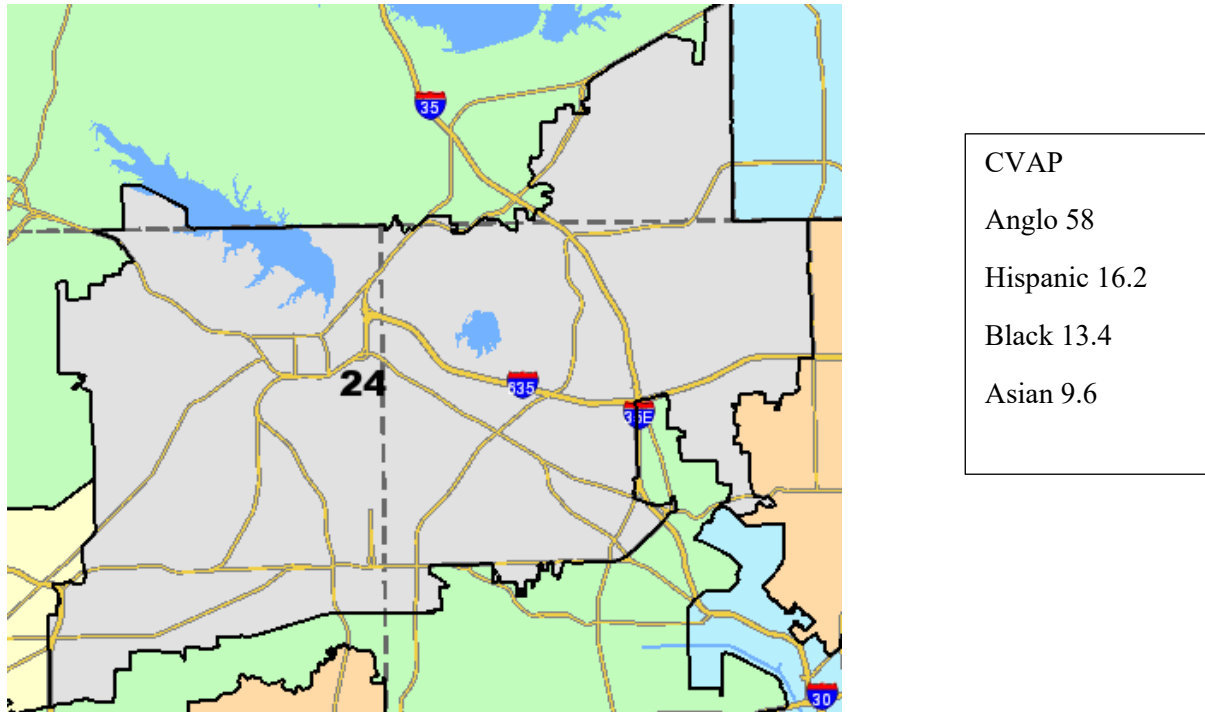
B. CD 10, New Plan C2193



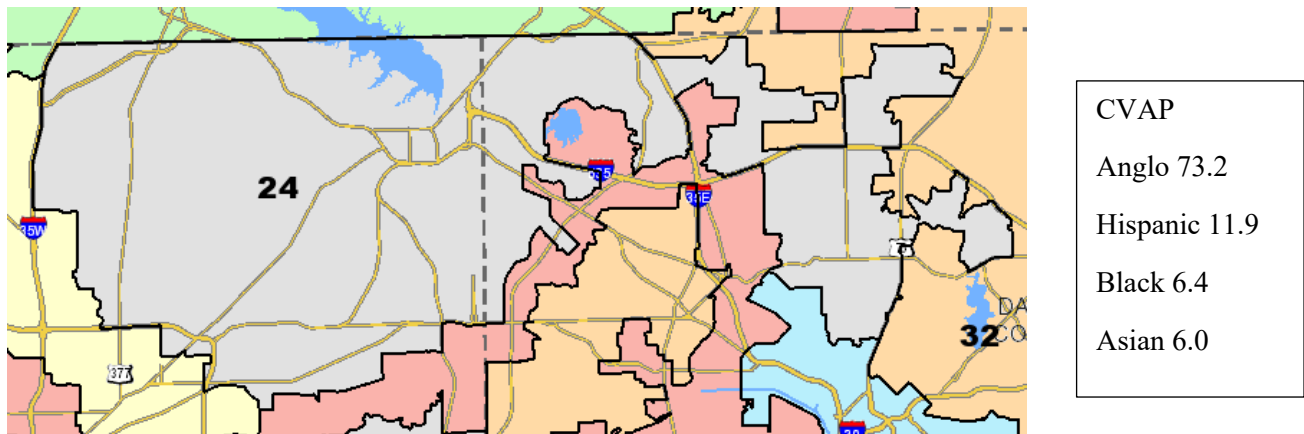
121. Like CDs 6 and 10, CD 24 had been trending less non-Hispanic white and less Republican during the 2010s. An ungainly district in 2011 with an irregular protuberance in Denton County, CD 24 needed to pick up Anglos and shed minorities if Anglo/Republican control was to be secure for the next decade. It did, raising the Anglo CVAP percentage by 15 points through a complicated eastern appendage that had at least twice as many sides as the infamous Tuskegee Gerrymander.

Figure 14: CD 24: Swiveled and Squeezed to Become Safely Anglo

A. The Benchmark Plan, C 2100



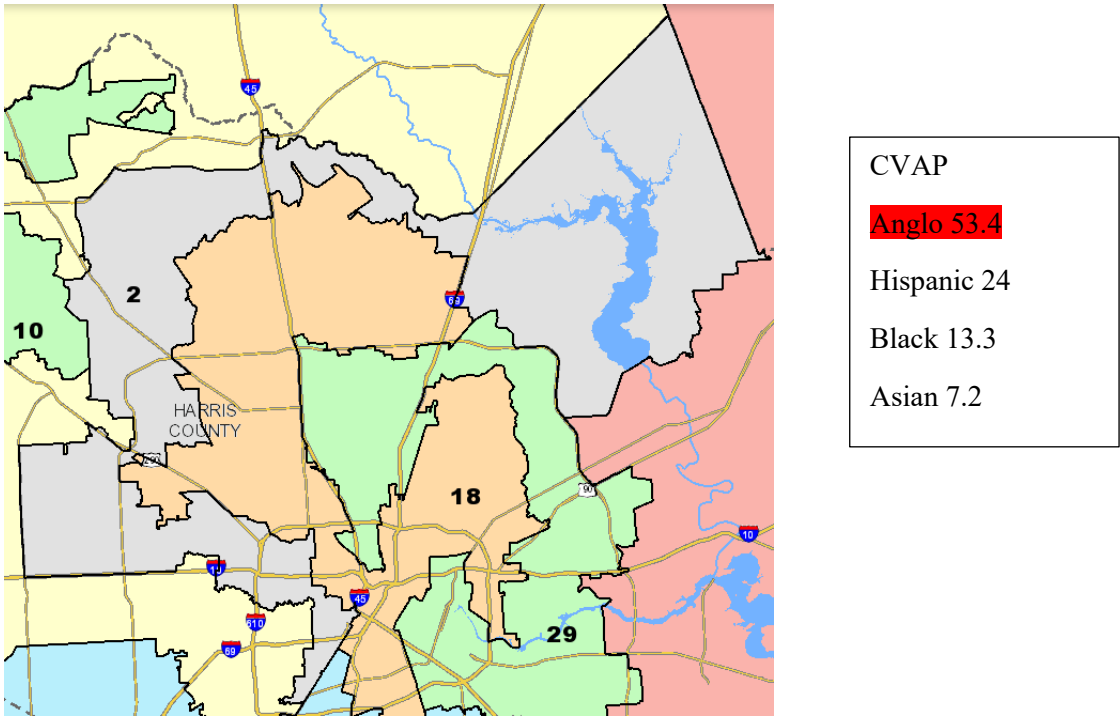
B. The New Plan, C2193



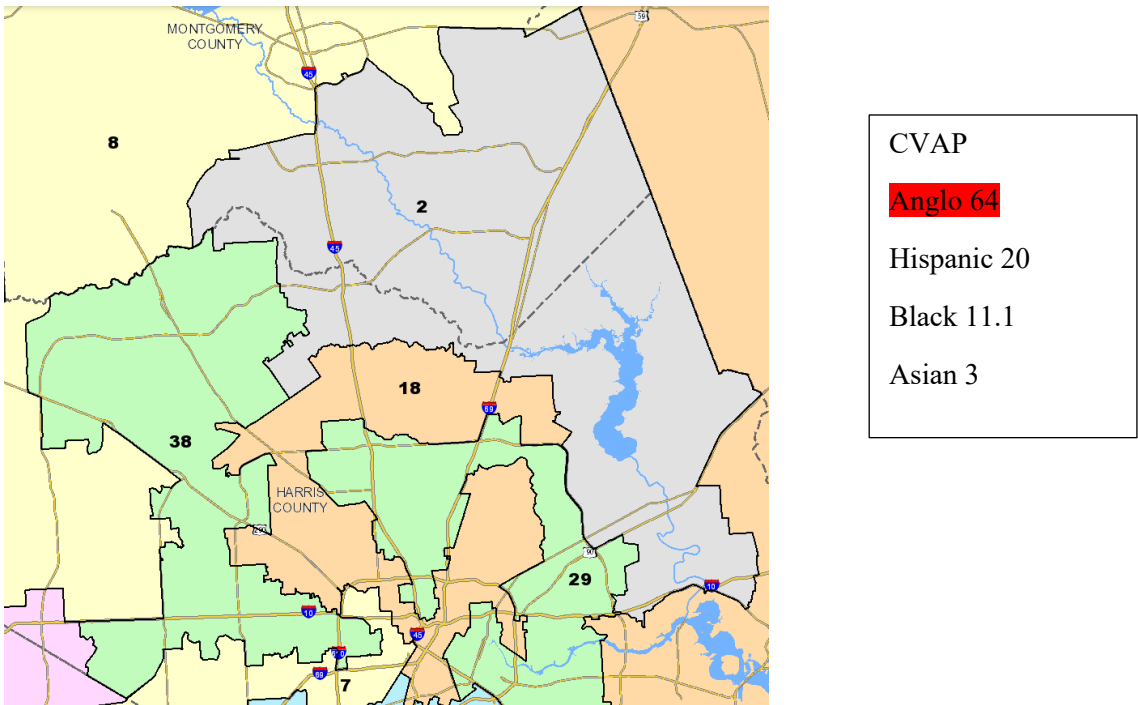
122. Another endangered district, CD 2, in the Greater Houston area, solved its problem, raising its Anglo CVAP percentage by 10.6 points, by swiveling its 2011 western appendages around to the east, thereby making room for one of Texas's two new congressional districts, both Anglo-majority in spite of the fact that 95% of the increased population in the state from 2010 to 2020 had been minority. The change illustrated, as well, the willingness of the map drawers to abandon the cores of previous districts if it suited their purposes.

Figure 15: CD 2: Rotated to Make Way for New CD 38 and Increase Anglo Percentage

A. Benchmark Plan, C 2100



B. The New Plan, C2193



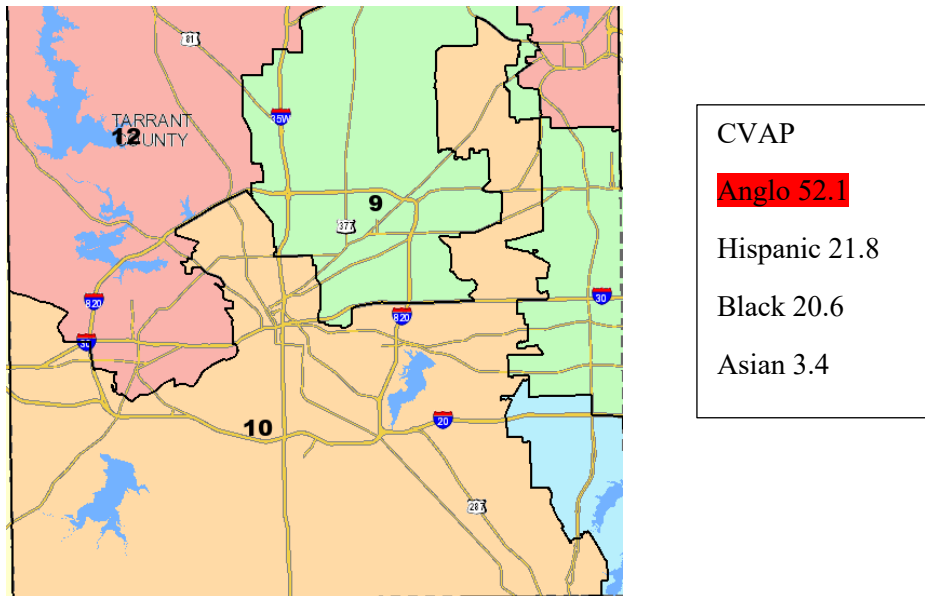
C. A Senate District Revised Using the Same Strategy as with Several Congressional Districts

123. The court-drawn SD 11 was relatively tidy, fitted all within Tarrant County and forming an urban community of interest. It was the quintessential minority coalition district, one of the only truly competitive Senate districts in the state, but with a white Democratic incumbent, Beverly Powell, in 2021. If population trends continued, Anglos would soon constitute only a minority of the CVAP in the district, as they had already become a minority of the population (39.5%) and the voting-age-population (43.9%). The obvious solution was to constrict the portion of the district that lay in Tarrant County and extend the district west to pick up rural Anglos. The move increased the Anglo CVAP by 8.8%, but the sprawl into 9 counties whose citizens had almost nothing in common with the urban and suburban population of Tarrant County was so blatant as to be denounced by Sen. Powell when it was introduced as “a direct assault on the voting rights of minority citizens in Senate District 10 and, if adopted, it would be an act of intentional discrimination.”¹⁸¹

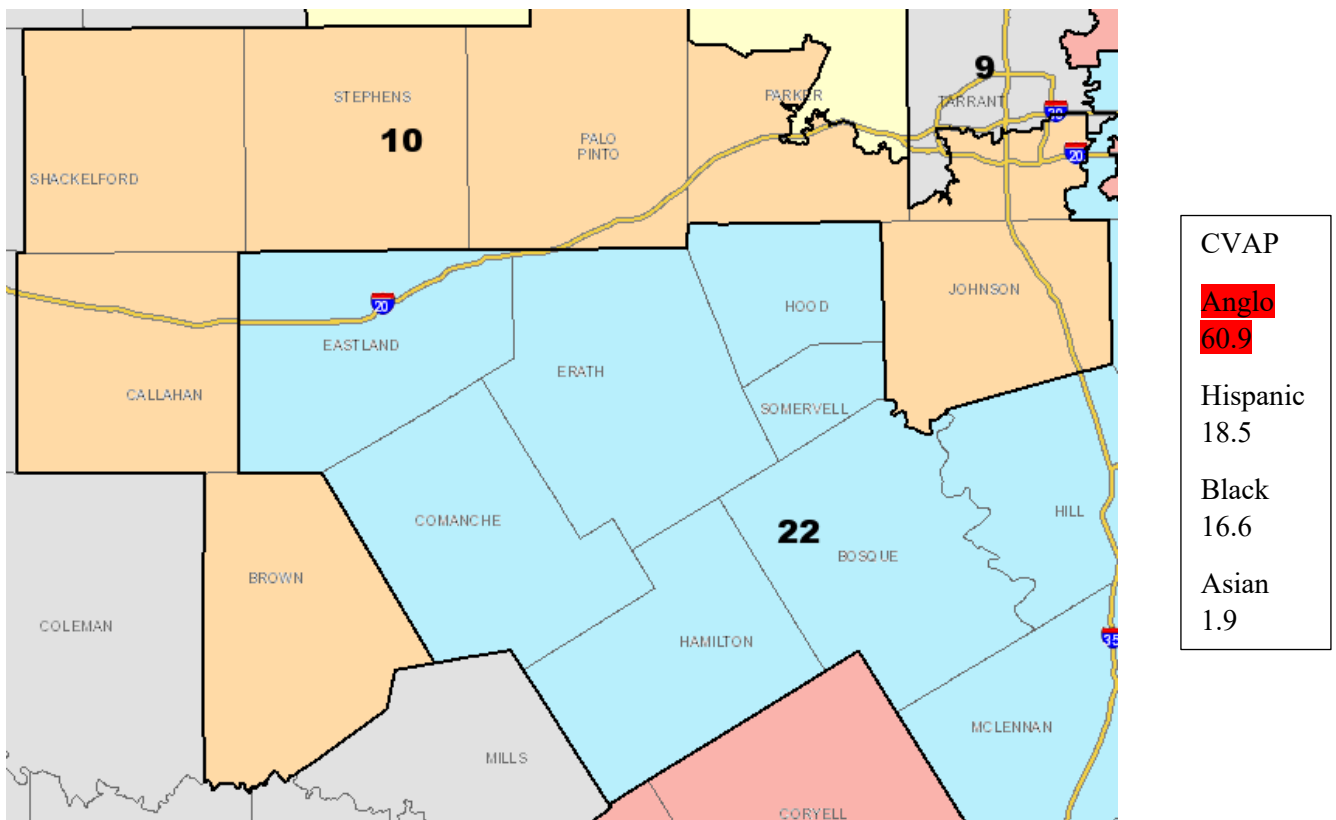
¹⁸¹ Cassandra Pollock, “Senate panel advances Texas Senate and State Board of Education maps/The initial drafts of both maps have so far attempted to strengthen Republican majorities by protecting incumbents and creating more GOP-friendly districts.” *Texas Tribune*, Sept. 28, 2021, <https://www.texastribune.org/2021/09/28/senate-committee-advances-senate-SBOE-maps/>.

Figure 16: Drowning an Urban Senate Coalition District by Adding Rural Whites

A. Benchmark Plan S2100



B. New District, Plan S2168



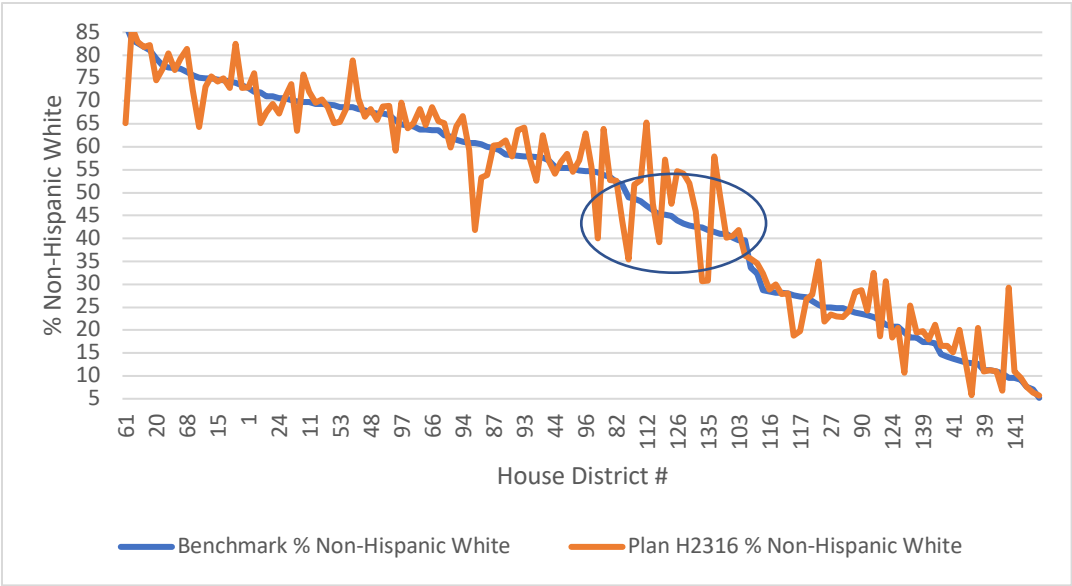
D. State House Districts: Overall Strategy

124. Figure 17 parallels Figure 10, above, except that Figure 17 concerns state House districts. The pattern is similar to that in Figure 10. The districts are ordered from the largest to the smallest non-Hispanic white percentage according to the Benchmark plan. In general, the Districts on the Southeast and Northwest portions of the graph, corresponding to the most heavily and least heavily non-Hispanic districts, show little change except for anomalous cases, particularly the shift of district 92 in Tarrant County, which changed its non-Hispanic white percentage dramatically and accounts for the large dip in the orange line to the left of center of the graph. Many of the districts on either side of 50% non-Hispanic white shifted markedly, especially by increasing their percentages of non-Hispanic whites. Fourteen of the 19 districts that had from 42.8% to 54.8% non-Hispanic white under the Benchmark Plan increased their non-Hispanic percentages, often considerably. Those 14 state House districts averaged 49.1% non-Hispanic white under the Benchmark, but 55.7% non-Hispanic white under Plan H2316. The day of non-white majorities had perhaps been postponed a little.

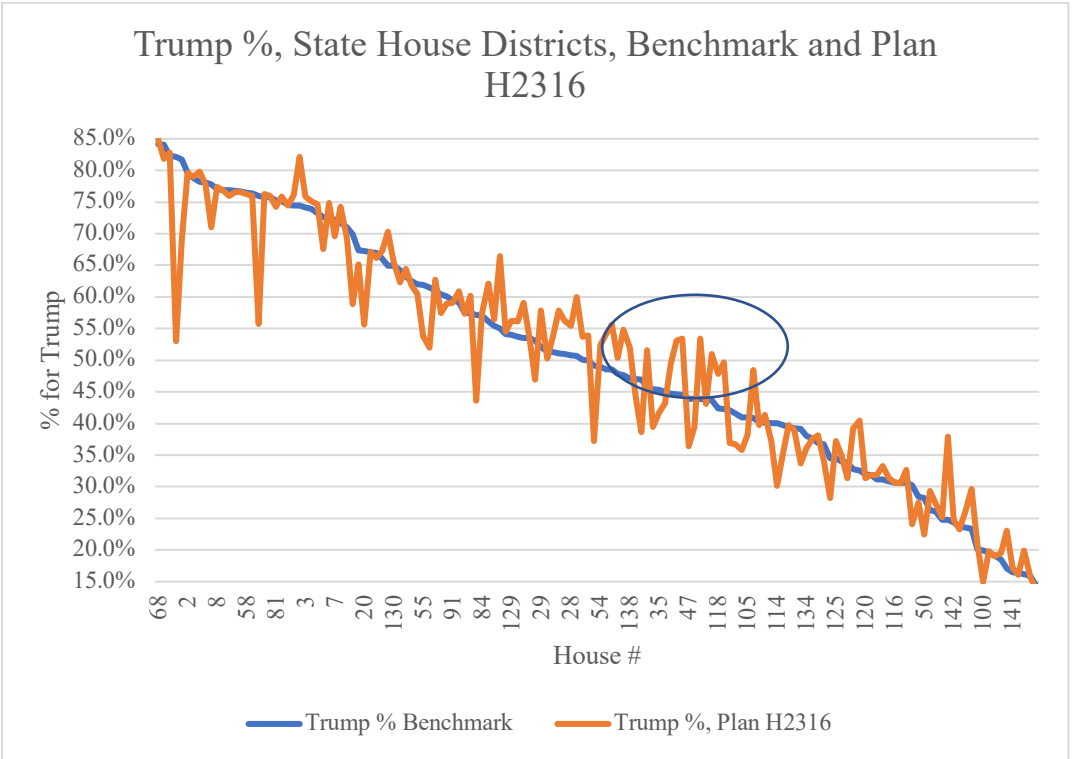
125. Figure 17b, ordered by Trump percentage in the Benchmark plan for clarity, shows a similar picture, with most of the districts in the competitive area of the graph having their percentages for Trump in 2020 shifted up from the blue Benchmark line to the orange lines of Plan H2316, raising the likelihood of Republican victories.

Figure 17: Non-Hispanic White, State House Districts, Benchmark and Plan H2316

A. % Non-Hispanic White, State House Districts, Benchmark and Plan H2316



B. % Trump, State House Districts, Benchmark and Plan H2316



E. State House Districts: *Larios* Concerns

126. Because House districts cover so much less geographical area than congressional or State Senate districts do, it is difficult to evaluate the intentions of the map drawers in House districts by using maps. But there is another means of doing so. Since, as interpreted by the TLC Guide to Redistricting, the population of House districts could vary by up to 10 percentage points from the ideal district population size (+5 to -5), one can ask whether there was a tendency to overpopulate minority districts and underpopulate majority non-Hispanic white districts. This trend was noticed during debates over the redistricting plans.

127. During the Oct. 12, 2021 House floor debate over the State House redistricting plan, MALC Chair Rep. Rafael Anchia asked rhetorically why in Plan 2316 “there was a systematic underpopulating in rural West Texas while being at the higher end of the deviation in places like El Paso, thus diluting the electoral power of Latinos in El Paso.”¹⁸² Federal courts have considered such population disparities between districts, if systematically related to racial concentrations, as evidence of racial discrimination in the redistricting process. This part of my report will consider population variations in the western part of the state in Plan 2316 and contrast them with those in two other plans: a pro-Hispanic, pro-Democratic plan offered by Rep. Joe Moody during the legislative session, and a demonstrative plan offered by the MALC and MALDEF plaintiffs. The two contrasting plans show the biases in Plan 2316. The Moody Plan highlights the ethnic and partisan biases in Plan 2316 by reversing them, while the MALC/MALDEF Plan provides a sharp contrast by demonstrating that a much less ethnically and politically biased plan than either Plan 2316 or the Moody Plan could be adopted without violating any of the State’s other legal constraints.

128. The most thoroughgoing federal case on the subject is *Larios v. Cox*.¹⁸³ Although I do not pretend to offer a legal opinion on *Larios* issues in this case, leaving that to the lawyers, some discussion of the case and subsequent developments of the law are necessary for me to determine what data and qualitative evidence are relevant and how they might be analyzed. In my report and testimony in the Section 2 and Section 5 challenges to the 2011 redistricting of the Texas House, I discussed *Larios* considerations at some length.¹⁸⁴ I begin by reviewing the legal issues and their development since my 2011 reports.

129. In its announcement of the one-person, one-vote principle in *Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 533, at 579 (1964), the U.S. Supreme Court declared that the “overriding objective” of districting “must be substantial equality of population among the various districts” and that deviations from the equal population principle are permissible only if “incident to the effectuation of a rational state policy.” As the case law developed, courts allowed some leeway from absolute population equality, particularly in state legislative districts, and the Georgia legislature in 2001 believed that deviations of plus or minus 5 percent in State House and Senate districts could not be

¹⁸² House Journal, Eighty-Seventh Legislature, Third Called Session, Supplement, Oct. 12, 2021, at S11.

¹⁸³ 300 F. Supp. 2d 1320 (N.D. Ga. 2004).

¹⁸⁴ My report in this regard is summarized by the court in *Perez v. Abbott*, 250 F. Supp. 3d 123, 184, 205, 212 (W.D. Tex. 2017).

successfully questioned in court. A three-judge court in *Larios v. Cox*, 300 F.Supp. 2d 1320 (2004), however, rejected the idea that any deviations under 5 percent fell within a “safe harbor,” sheltering the plan from legal attack. If districts that were underpopulated often shared partisan or regional traits, and if facts about the process of redistricting suggested that systematic biases underlay the pattern of under- and over-population of districts, then the harbor was no longer safe, the district court concluded, and *Reynolds* had been violated. The wide population variations in Georgia were invalid, the district court found, because there were “no legitimate, consistently applied state policies” to justify them.¹⁸⁵ The Supreme Court summarily affirmed the district court’s opinion, without a majority opinion, and with an instructive dissent by Justice Scalia that suggested that even he would have affirmed if the lower court had found a systematic bias against minority voters.¹⁸⁶

130. Although some subsequent judicial decisions distinguished *Larios* on the grounds that population disparities were not proven,¹⁸⁷ or were much smaller than in *Larios*,¹⁸⁸ or that it had not been shown that the population deviations were systematically related to partisan or racial biases,¹⁸⁹ the basic analysis in the original case has generally been followed since it was decided. Most importantly, there was an extensive discussion of the pre- and post-*Larios* caselaw and its application to the facts of the 2011-13 Texas redistricting in *Perez v. Abbott*, 250 F. Supp. 3d 123, at 183-219 (W.D. Tex. 2017). For present purposes, the most significant implications of that court’s discussion are first, that *Larios* claims on both racial and partisan grounds are proper foci in redistricting cases; second, that the principal evidence that should be examined in evaluating such claims, at least initially, is objective evidence of population imbalances and the correlation of such discrepancies with racial and partisan factors; and third, that such an analysis is not confined to statewide plans, but may be applied on a regional level. In particular, the *Perez* court found no statewide violation of *Larios*, but violations in three sub-regions of the state (Nueces County, Hidalgo County, and Bell/Lampasas County).¹⁹⁰

131. Instructively, the *Perez* decision noted that despite the Texas Legislative Council’s warning in the 2011 cycle of redistricting that a 10% population deviation (5% above and 5% below the mean population in a district, statewide) was not a safe harbor, the legislative map drawers ignored the adjuration and drew districts that not only varied by nearly 10%, but at times systematically underpopulated Republican districts and overpopulated Democratic and Hispanic districts.¹⁹¹ In the 2021 redistricting, the new map drawers again failed to learn from the TLC’s

¹⁸⁵ *Larios*, at 1322.

¹⁸⁶ Justice Scalia noted pointedly that “Appellees do not contend that the population deviations -- all less than 5% from the mean -- were based on race or some other suspect classification.” (*Cox v. Larios*, 542 U.S. 947, at 951 (2004))

¹⁸⁷ *League of United Latin Am. Citizens v. Perry*, 548 U.S. 399, 422 (2006).

¹⁸⁸ *Gonzalez v. State Apportionment Comm’n*, 2011 N.J. Super. Unpub. LEXIS 2366.

¹⁸⁹ *Comm. For a Fair & Balanced Map v. Ill. State Bd. of Elections*, 835 F. Supp. 2d 563, 584 (N.D. Ill. 2011); *League of Women Voters v. City of Chicago*, 757 F.3d 722, 726 (7th Cir. 2014).

¹⁹⁰ *Perez*, at 218-19.

¹⁹¹ *Perez*, at 201-04,

explicit guidance, and they appear to have ignored the meticulous analysis of the *Perez* opinion and its finding of *Larios* violations. Although in its *Guide To 2021 Redistricting*,¹⁹² the TLC's discussion of population variation issues was much more truncated than it had been a decade earlier, it was very explicit: "In some cases, even plans with districts within the 10 percent limitation have been held invalid if the population deviations show a pattern of discrimination."¹⁹³ And the *Perez* court's intensive discussion of the factors of race, partisanship, and incumbent protection in, for example, House District 41 (referred to at trial as the "transformer district") should have served in 2021 as an additional signal that population inequalities between districts might be considered legally problematic.

F. *Larios* and West Texas

132. As Rep. Anchia did, I focus my analysis of *Larios* questions on 15-16 State House districts comprising 80 counties in the Panhandle and the western region of Texas. The West Texas area is somewhat ill-defined,¹⁹⁴ and some of the 15 House districts in the plan adopted in 2021 span the boundaries of "North" or "South" Texas, depending on definitions of the regions. Nonetheless, these districts cover nearly a third of the counties in the state, so they will play a large role in any fuller analysis of population disparities between districts. I will consider here Texas House districts 68, 71, 72, 74-79, 81-84, 86-88 for the benchmark plan and those districts minus district 76, which was moved to Fort Bend County, for the 2021 plan. The Moody and demonstrative plans, which contain more districts, are offered primarily for contrast with Plan 2316.

133. Although retrogression under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act has been irrelevant since the 2013 Supreme Court decision of *Shelby County v. Holder*, 570 U.S. 529, the pre-2021 district arrangement provides a convenient baseline to demonstrate the geographic and topographical constraints on drawing districts in the area. Plan 2316 was not predestined; it could have been drawn differently, as the plan drawn in 2011 and modified thereafter demonstrates.

134. I have chosen to display the relevant data in a way that makes the general patterns clear while presenting as much district-specific information as possible in the graphs. Figure 1 serves as an example. All of the other graphs are similar. In Figure 1, the line gives the Spanish-surnamed turnout (SSTO) in each district in the November, 2020 election, ordered so that the most heavily Hispanic district is on the left, the least Hispanic on the right, and the others, in order, in between. I used the SSTO figure instead of the citizen voting age population (CVAP) or the voting age population (VAP) because SSTO represents actual political participation, not

¹⁹² https://redistricting.capitol.texas.gov/docs/guide_to_2021_redistricting.pdf.

¹⁹³ *Guide*, at 2. The 2011 report had mentioned race, ethnicity, and party affiliation explicitly: "“However, the legislature must be wary of assuming that a plan deviation of less than 10 percent is safe from attack if the population deviation appears to consistently reduce the voting strength of an identifiable group, particularly on the basis of race, ethnicity, or party affiliation.”"

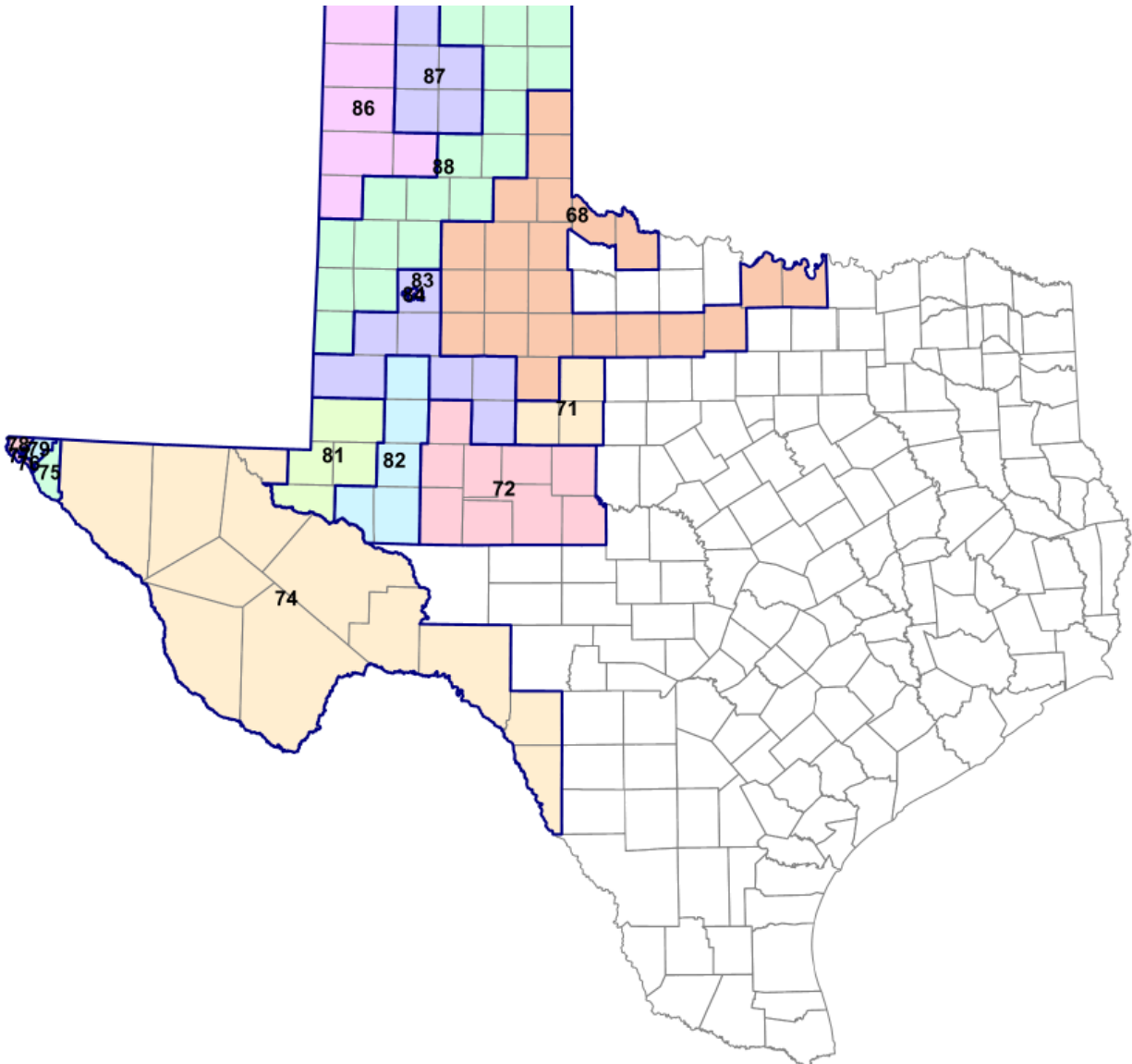
<http://www.tlc.state.tx.us/redlaw01/Archive%20March%20%001/redlaw01>.

¹⁹⁴ <http://www.texascounties.net/statistics/regions.htm>.

potential participation.¹⁹⁵ The bar graphs represent the percentages of the 2010 total population in each district that deviated, plus or minus, from the mean population for all the districts in the state. The column numbers are multiplied by 10 so that the patterns will show up clearly in a graph in which the most Hispanic district is over 80% Hispanic. For example, a population deviation of 4% will appear as a column of 40%. Within or below each column is the district number.

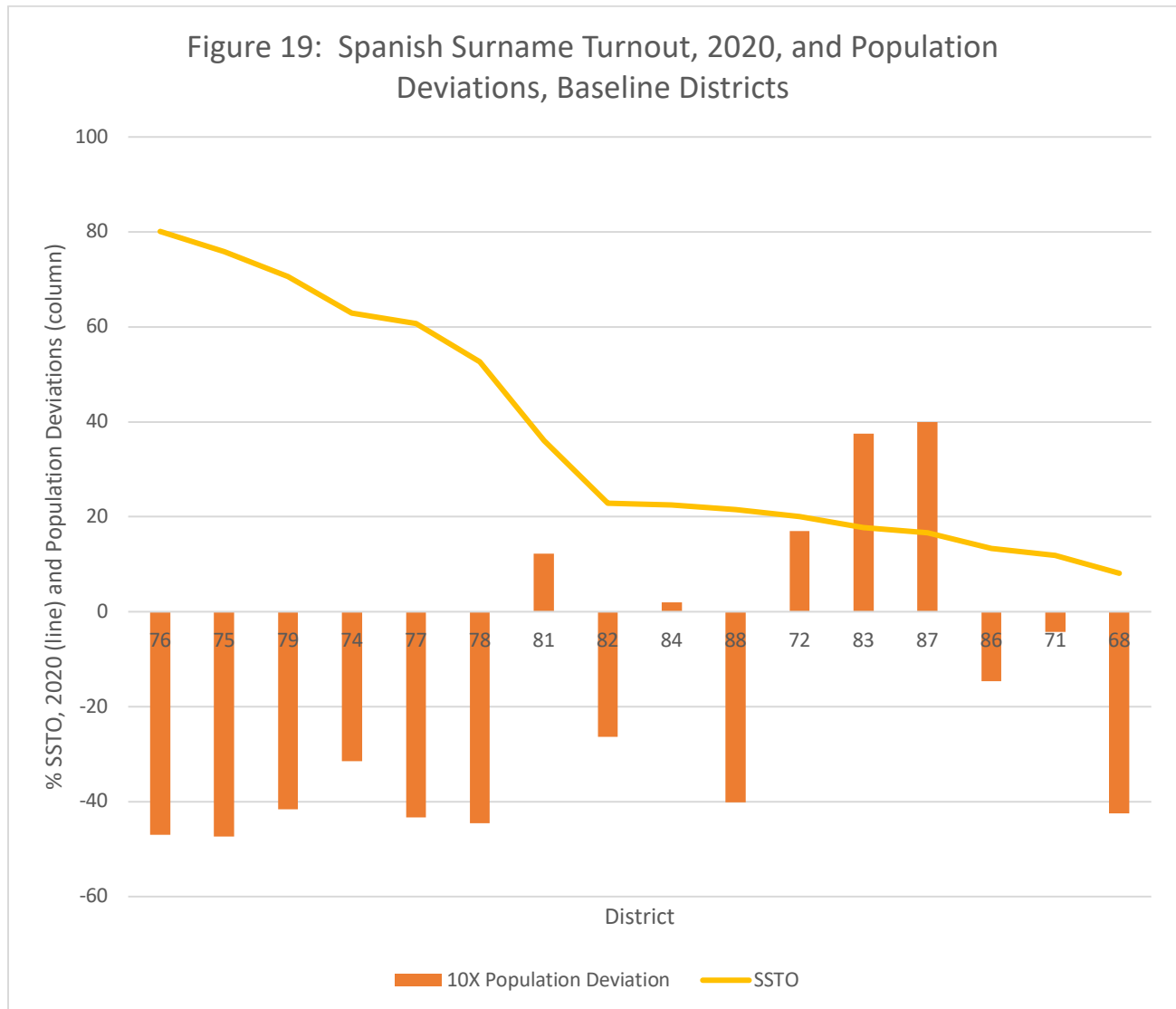
135. Figure 18 outlines the Texas House districts from the baseline plan that I will analyze in the graphs below. Most difficult to see from this map is that there were actually 5 House districts wholly within El Paso County, at the extreme western tip of the state. Most of the rest of the population in the region is either in Lubbock (district 84) or spread out through largely rural counties.

¹⁹⁵ Graphs using Hispanic voting age population percentages or Spanish-surnamed voter registration are quite similar to those using SSTO and support the same substantive conclusions.

Figure 18: West Texas District in the Pre-2021 (“Baseline”) Plan

136. Figure 19, below, demonstrates that in the plan that was in force in 2020, before the adoption of Plan 2316 in 2021, the 6 majority-SSTO districts were all underpopulated, compared to the statewide mean district, while the non-majority-SSVR districts varied – 5 were underpopulated and 5 were overpopulated. Only 3 of the non-Hispanic-majority districts varied from the district mean by as much as 4% (represented as 40% in the column figures). Only 2 of the three non-Hispanic-majority districts were underpopulated by 4% or more. This graph does not suggest a strong pattern of racial discrimination in the allocation of populations to districts. Hispanic voters were not systematically packed into districts to reduce their political power; Anglos were not systematically spread out to increase their power. If anything, Hispanic voters

were advantaged by the population distribution in the pre-2021 House districts in this area of the state.



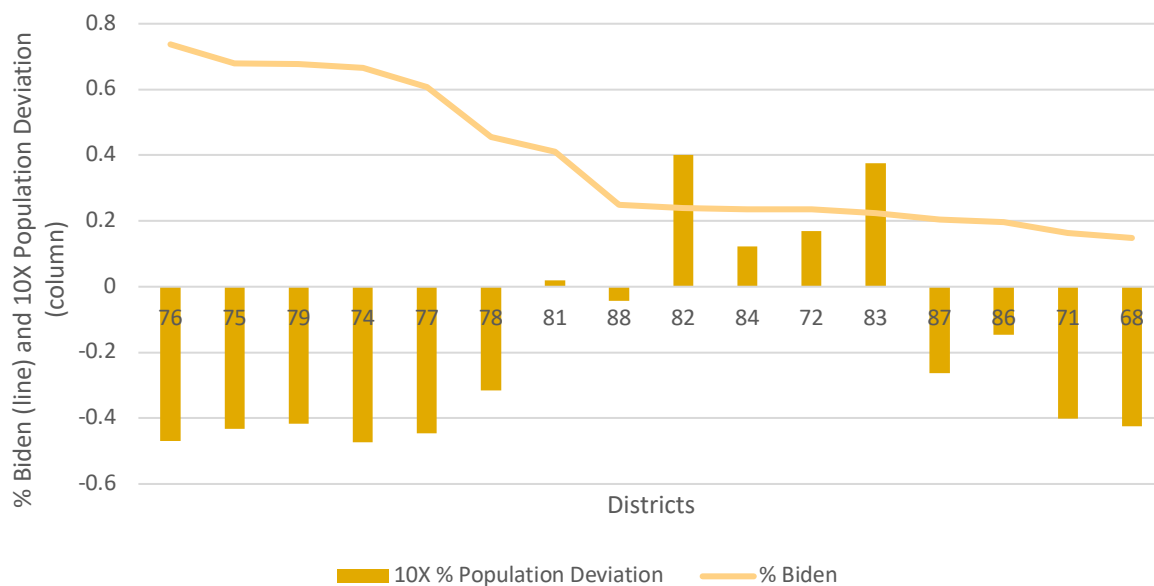
137. Figures 20 and 21 demonstrate that the pattern in Figure 19 essentially holds if we substitute political for ethnic variables. I have chosen to display the percentage of the vote for Lupe Valdez, the Democratic candidate for governor in the November, 2018 general election in Figure 20 and Joe Biden, the Democratic candidate for president in the November, 2020 general election, in Figure 21, but similar patterns could be shown in other statewide races in 2018 and 2020. Valdez is Hispanic, and the governor's office is central to Texas politics. Support for Biden was similar to that for other statewide offices in 2020. The 2018 and 2020 elections are not only recent, but they also give us both a presidential and an off-year election. Although the lines in Figures 20 and 21 are somewhat less steep than that in Figure 19, the overall impression

is the same: there is no strong and consistent pattern of anti-Democratic Party discrimination in the allocation of total population across the 16 pre-2021 districts.

Figure 20: % for Lupe Valdez, Governor, 2018, and Population Deviations, Baseline Districts

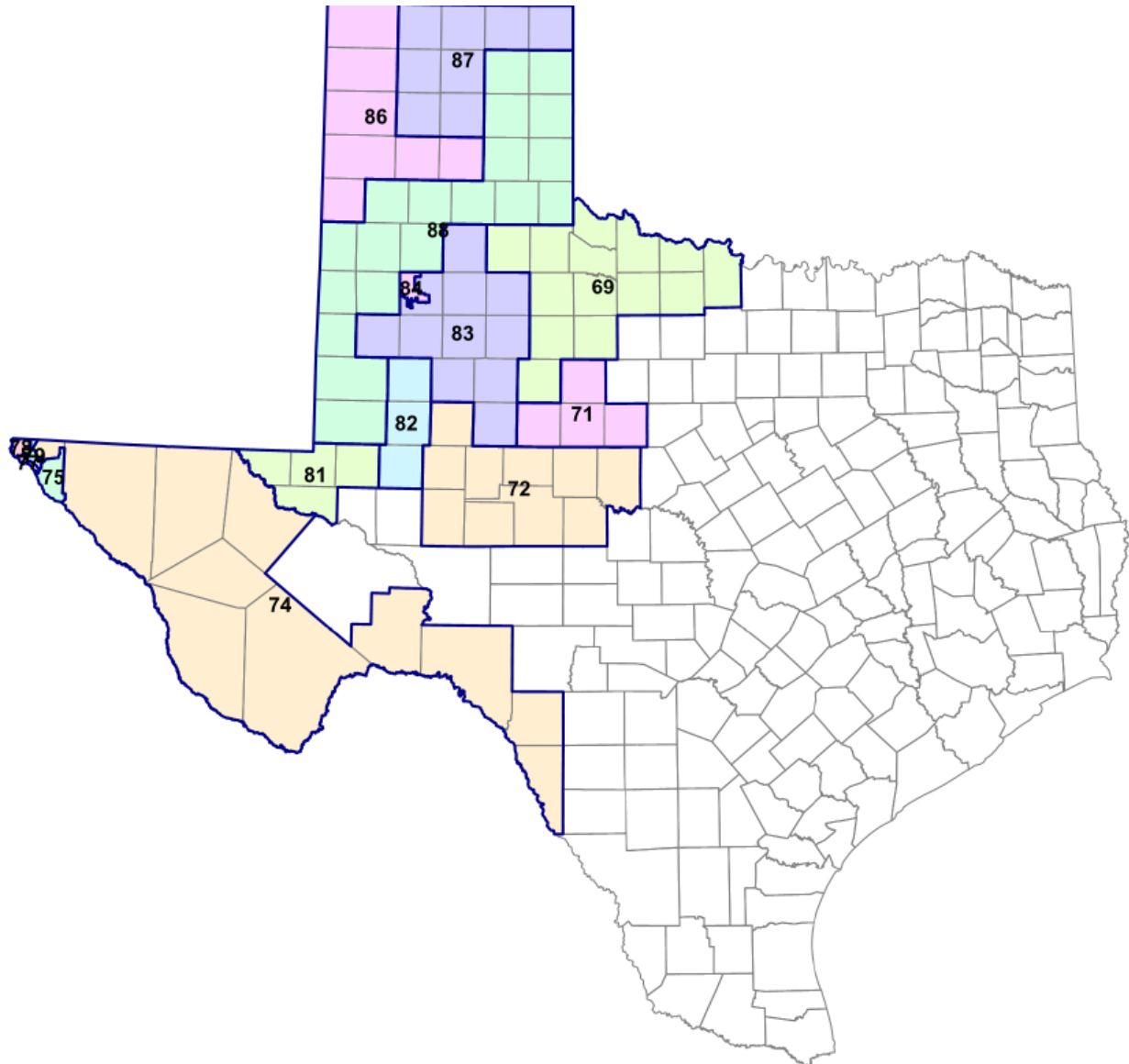


Figure 21: % Biden and 10X Population Deviation, Baseline Districts



138. Figure 22 depicts the configuration of districts in Plan 2316 in approximately the same area as in Figure 18. Most of the districts look similar to the previous decade's districts, with the exception of the districts wholly within El Paso County, which have been reduced in number from 5 to 4. Part of El Paso County is now contained in district 74, which extends on the border all of the way to Maverick County, 415 miles east of El Paso.¹⁹⁶

Figure 22: West Texas Districts in Plan 2316



¹⁹⁶ <https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-1-d&q=Distance+between+El+Paso+and+Eagle+Pass%2C+Texas.>

139. While Figures 18 and 22 look superficially similar, the contrasts between Figures 19 and 23 demonstrate that shapes on maps may conceal dramatic differences in political and ethnic realities. To make the contrast clear, I have reproduced Figure 19 and placed it on the same page as Figure 23, which depicts the connection between ethnicity and district population disparities in Plan 2316. What a stark difference! For starters, there are only 5 majority-SSTO districts in Plan 2316. More important, all 5 of the Hispanic majority districts are overpopulated – 3 of the 6 are over 4% overpopulated -- while all of the Hispanic minority districts are underpopulated – 6 of the 10 by over 4%. Unlike in the previous decade, Hispanics appear to be packed – indeed, over-packed – into a few districts, while every one of the Anglo-majority districts is underpopulated. It is difficult to imagine a more clear-cut *prima facie* violation of the logic behind *Larios* – that the State had “arbitrarily and discriminatorily dilute[d] and debase[d] the weight of certain citizens’ votes.”¹⁹⁷

140. Figures 24 and 25 substitute the percentages for Valdez and Biden for the SSTO percentages in Figure 23. The pattern of overpopulated Democratic districts and underpopulated Republican districts repeats the pattern of overpopulated Hispanic districts and underpopulated Anglo districts, which is of course not surprising because of the high correlation between race and ethnicity, on the one hand, and partisanship, on the other hand, in Texas. A pattern of political and racial discrimination could hardly be clearer, and the contrast to the patterns of the previous decade, which was, after all, another Republican redistricting that courts determined was in many respects a racial gerrymander, is very striking. In addition to Figures 19 and 23, the reader may compare Figures 20 and 24, or 21 and 25.

¹⁹⁷ *Larios*, 300 F. Supp. 2d at 1322.

Figure 19: Spanish Surname Turnout, 2020, and Population Deviations, Baseline Districts

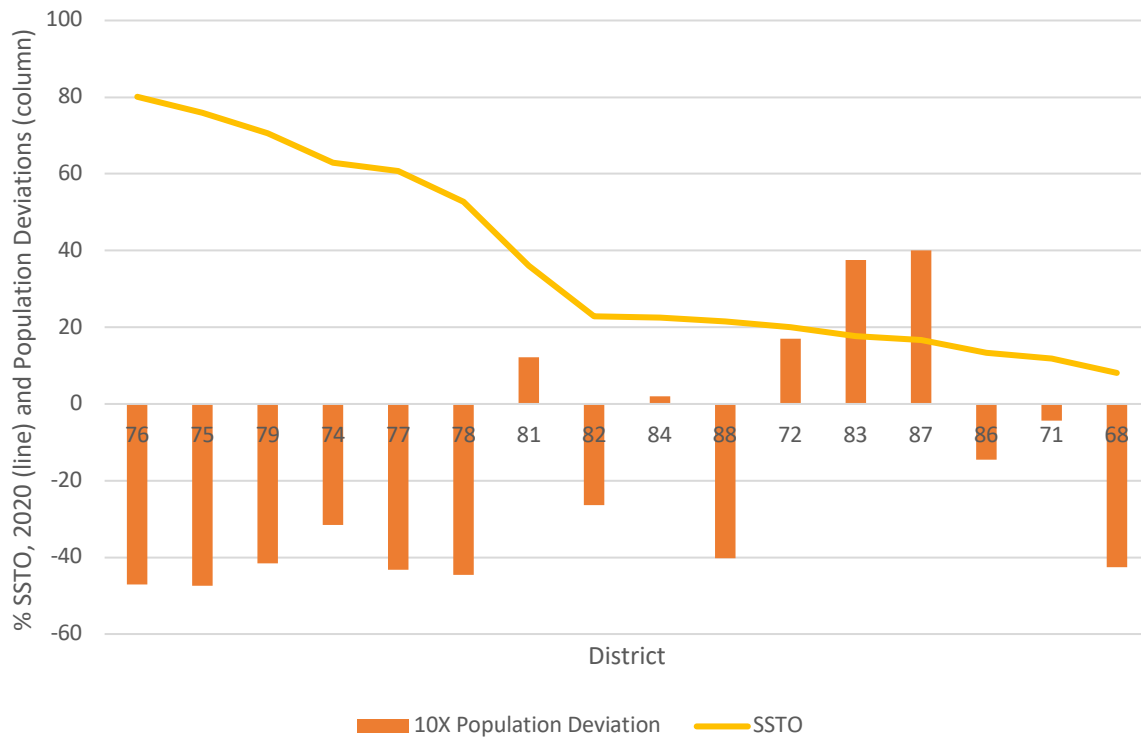


Figure 23: 2020 Spanish Surname Turnout and Population Deviations, Plan 2316

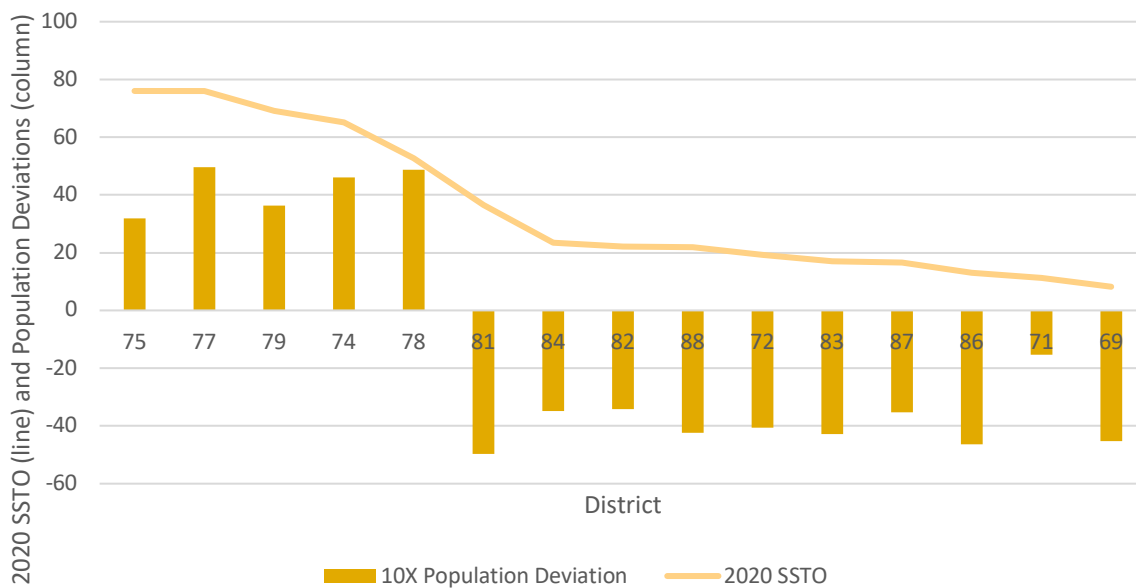


Figure 24: % Valdez, 2018, and Population Deviations, Plan 2316

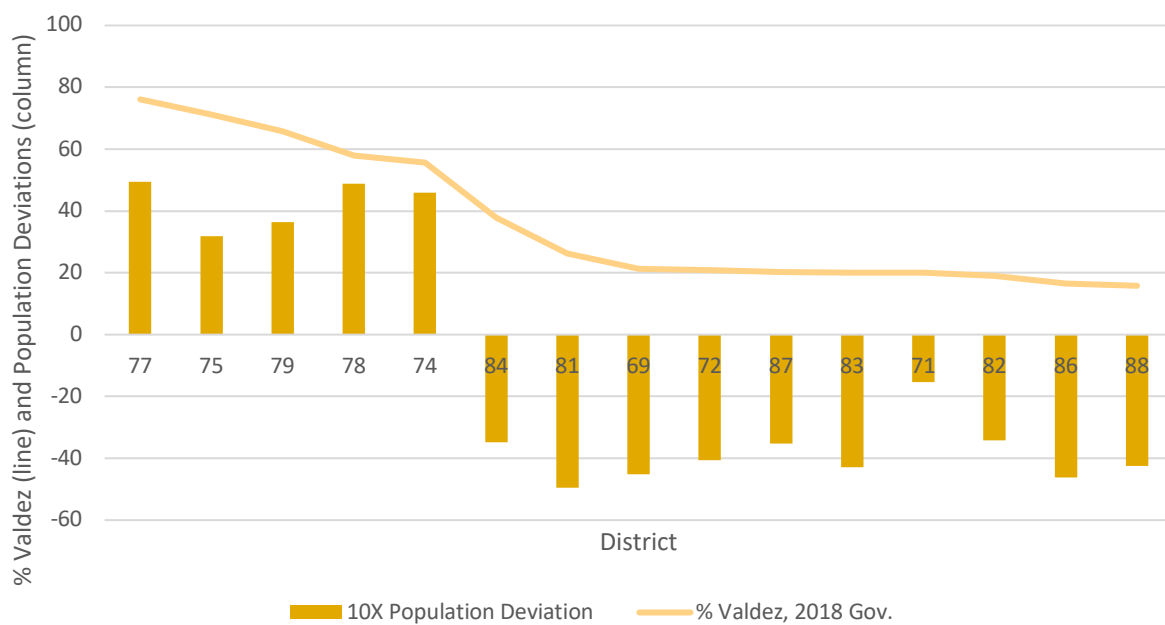
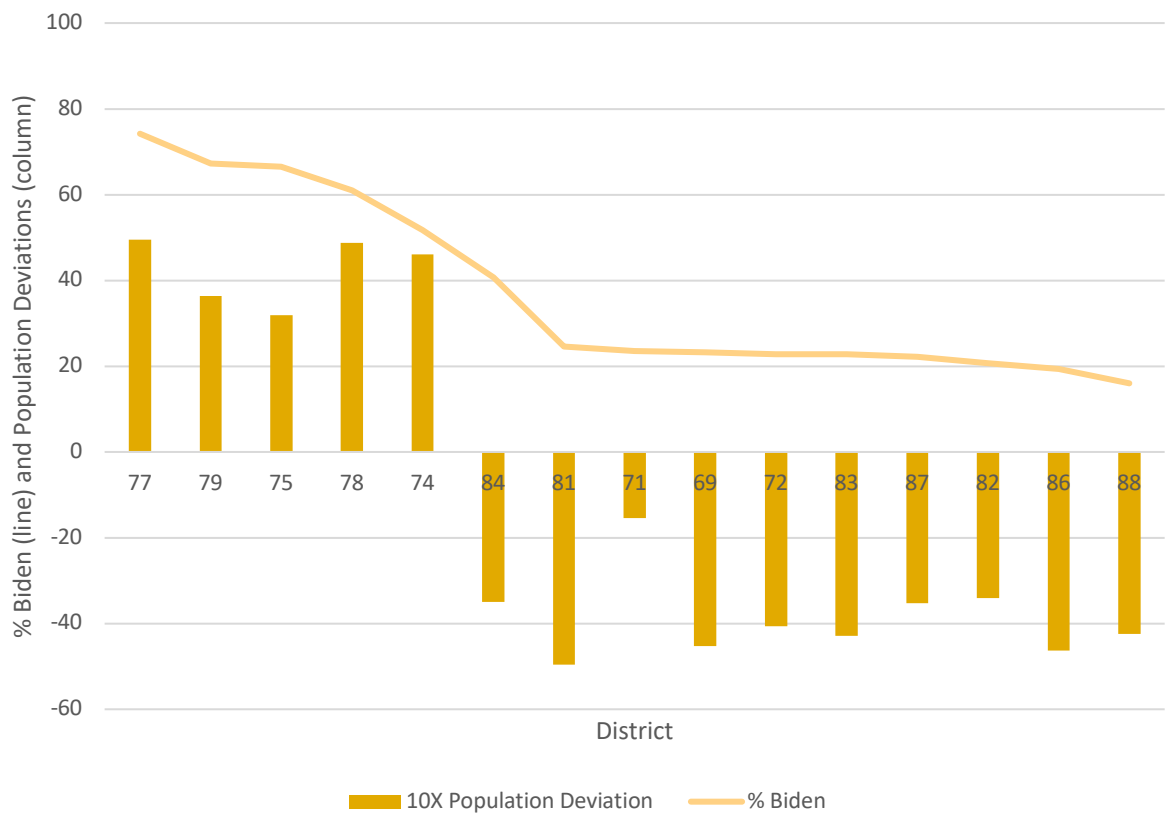


Figure 25: % Biden and Population Deviations, Plan 2316



141. The district court in *Larios* stated that it would have ruled differently if there had been “legitimate, consistently applied state policies which justify these population deviations.”¹⁹⁸ Among the possible justifications for the deviations was incumbency protection, but the *Larios* court dismissed that excuse in Georgia because the principle was not “applied in a reasonably consistent and nondiscriminatory way . . .”¹⁹⁹ It found that four times as many Republican as Democratic incumbents were paired in the 2001 Georgia redistricting, run at that time by Democrats. The situation in these Texas House districts seems similar to those in Georgia. Only two incumbents in the 15 districts were paired – both Latina Democrats from El Paso, Claudia Ordaz Perez and Lina Ortega. As a consequence, Ordaz Perez decided to run against another Hispanic Democrat from El Paso, Art Fierro.²⁰⁰ None of the Anglo or Republican incumbents were paired against each other in the redistricting.

142. Whether Texas can justify the stark pattern of population discrepancies demonstrated by comparisons of Figures 19 and 23 or the other graphs remains to be seen, but it is instructive that the *Larios* opinion noted that “the Supreme Court has never sanctioned partisan advantage as a legitimate justification for population deviations.”²⁰¹ The *Perez v. Abbott* court not only quoted that sentence from the *Larios* opinion, but also found violations of the equal protection clause in the redistricting of Texas House districts at least partially on grounds of partisanship in Hidalgo and Bell/Lampasas Counties. In its discussion of District 41 in Hidalgo County, for example, the court noted that the map drawers’ goal of protecting the incumbent, who had switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party, “went too far in its use of race and partisanship.”²⁰² Figures 19-25 suggest that the same conclusion may be warranted in this decade’s Texas redistricting.

143. It may assist the court in its evaluation of the adopted Plan 2316 to consider population deviations in other plans considered by the legislature or proposed by the MALC and MALDEF plaintiffs as a demonstrative plan. Plan 2192 was proposed by El Paso Representative Joe Moody, a Democrat and member of MALC, and offered as floor amendment #22 on Oct. 12, 2021. It failed by a vote of 60-85, with one present and not voting. In contrast to the 15-16 districts taken from the statewide plans adopted in 2011-13 and 2021, I will consider 27 districts from different regions of the state in the Moody plan. Figure 26 outlines the districts that I will treat from the Moody Plan. Although it contains El Paso and the western border counties, Figure 26 shows that the Moody Plan does not cover the Panhandle or the northwestern section, instead including most of the Rio Grande Valley, Harris County, and some areas in the central part of the state.

¹⁹⁸ *Larios*, at 1322

¹⁹⁹ *Larios*, at 1349.

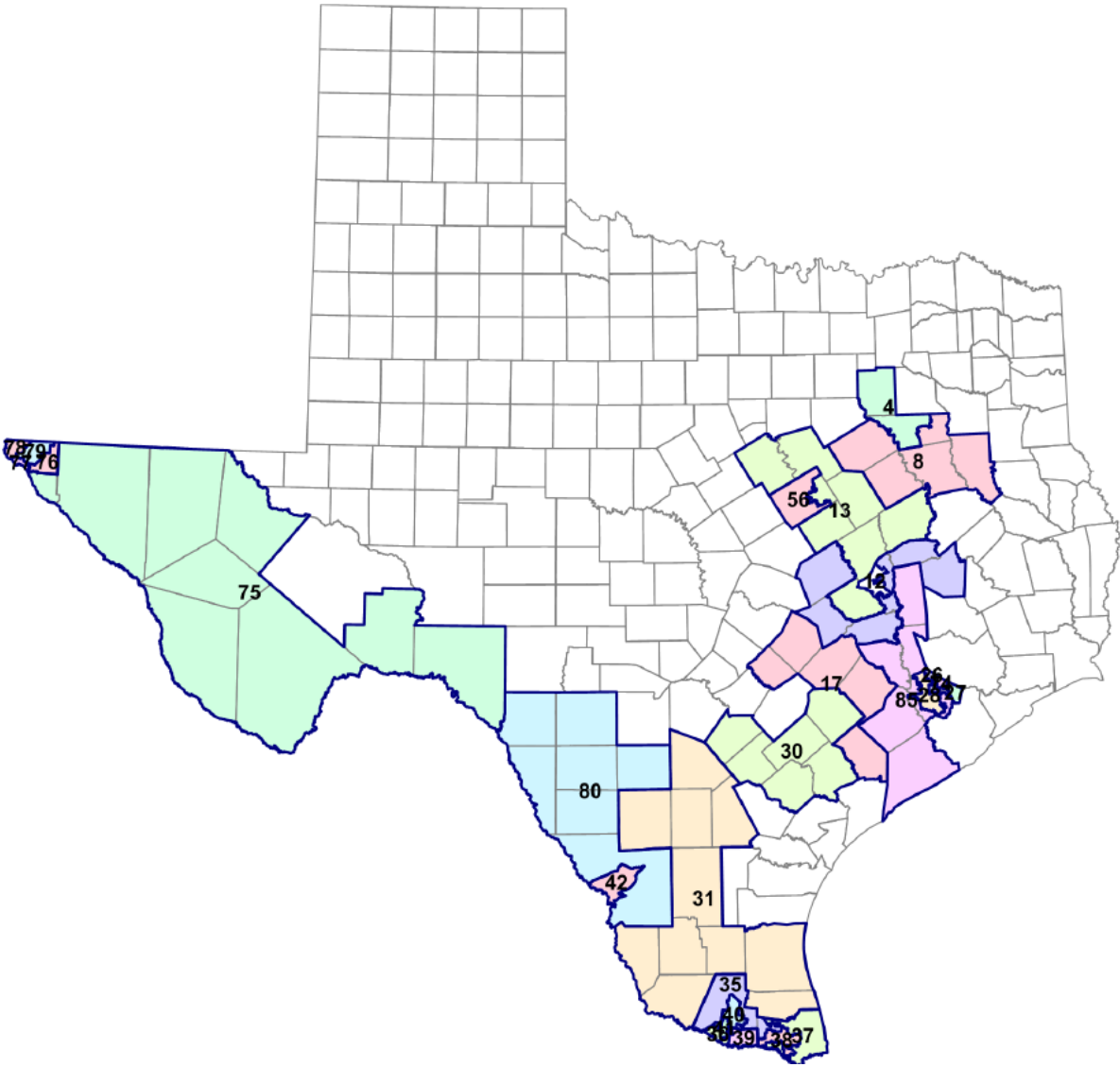
²⁰⁰ Patrick Svitek, “Democratic state Reps. Claudia Ordaz Perez and Art Fierro will vie for the same El Paso House seat due to redistricting,” *Texas Tribune*, Nov. 1, 2021. <https://www.texastribune.org/2021/11/01/texas-house-el-paso-redistricting/>.

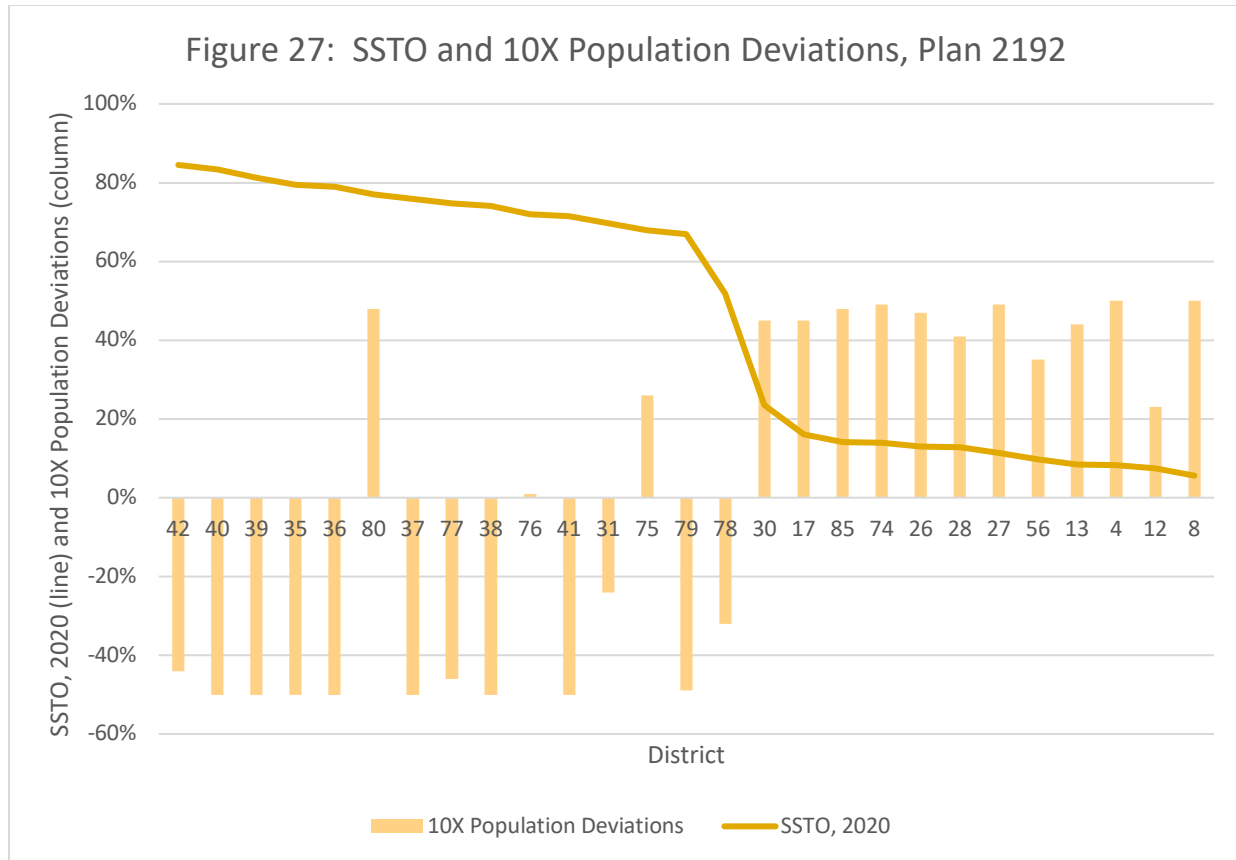
²⁰¹ *Larios*, at 1351.

²⁰² *Perez*, at 189 (quotation of *Larios*), 210-11 (Hidalgo County), 216-17 (Bell and Lampasas Counties).

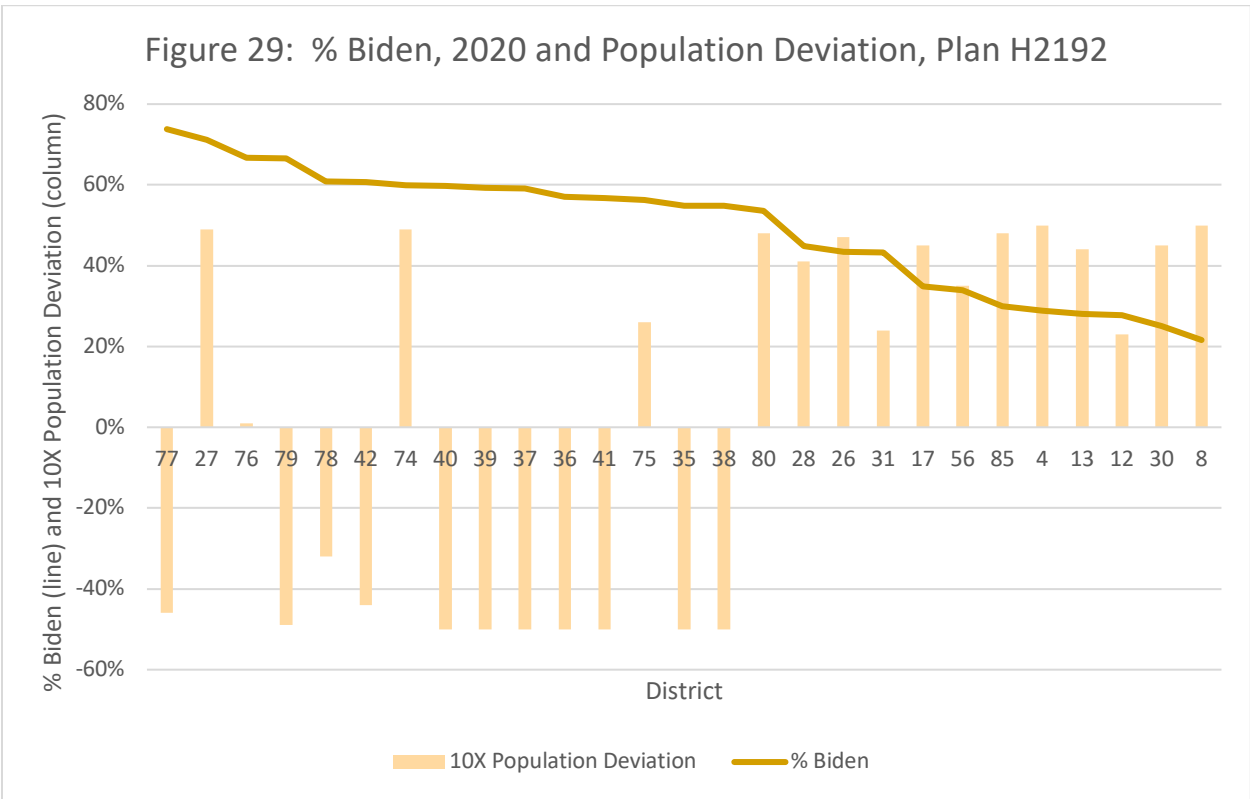
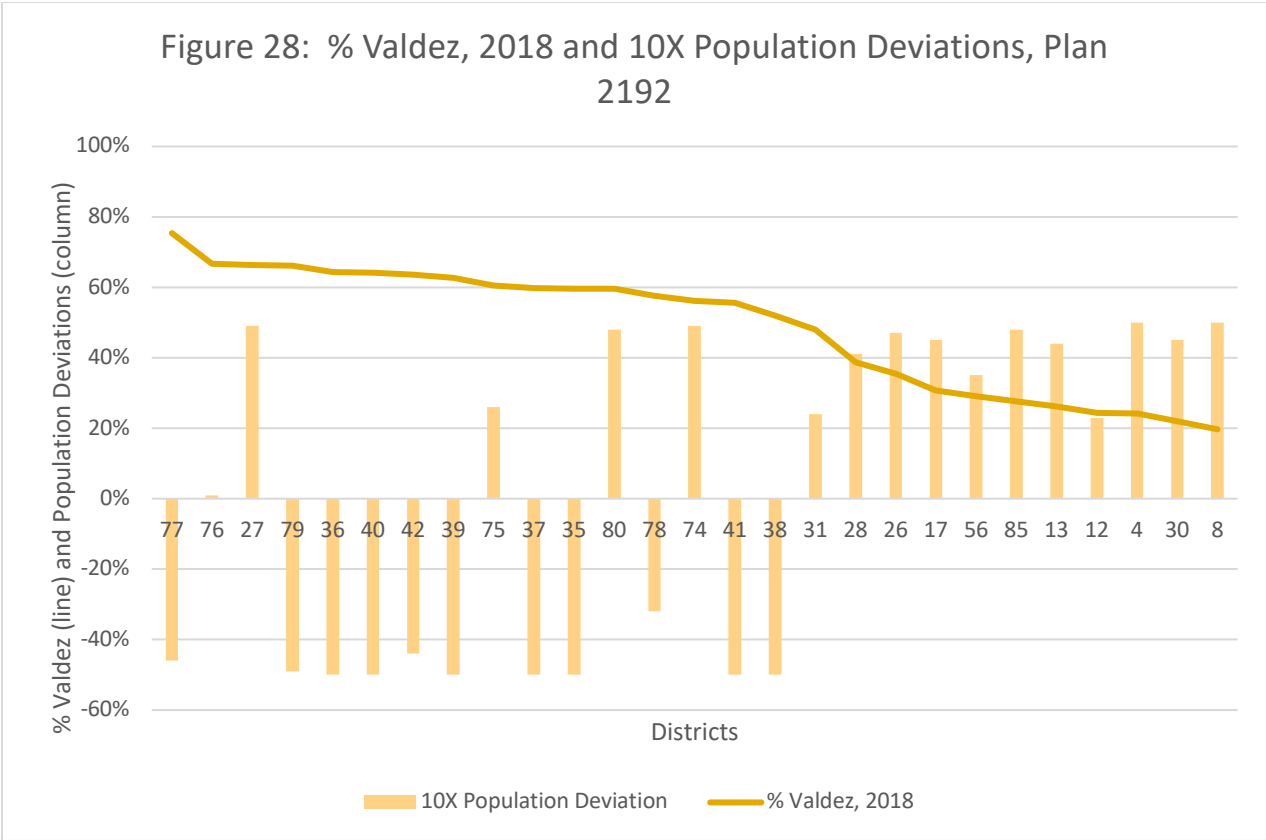
144. The graphs show that with respect to population deviations, Plan 2192 is almost the obverse of Plan 2316. As Figure 27, which contrasts population deviations of the districts with Spanish surname turnout in the November, 2020 election, shows, the Moody Plan underpopulated almost all of the majority-SSTO districts and overpopulated every one of the districts in which SSTO accounted for less than half of the votes in 2020. It resembles what the Georgia Democrats did in 2001 which so put off the district court in *Larios*. And its very obvious pro-Hispanic tilt emphasizes the opposite bias in Plan 2316. Neither plan represents any “natural” or inevitable configuration of districts. Both plans, which encompass polar opposites in their treatment of Hispanic voters, were the product of conscious, intentional design, as all redistricting plans are.

Figure 26: Districts in Part of the Moody Plan, H2192



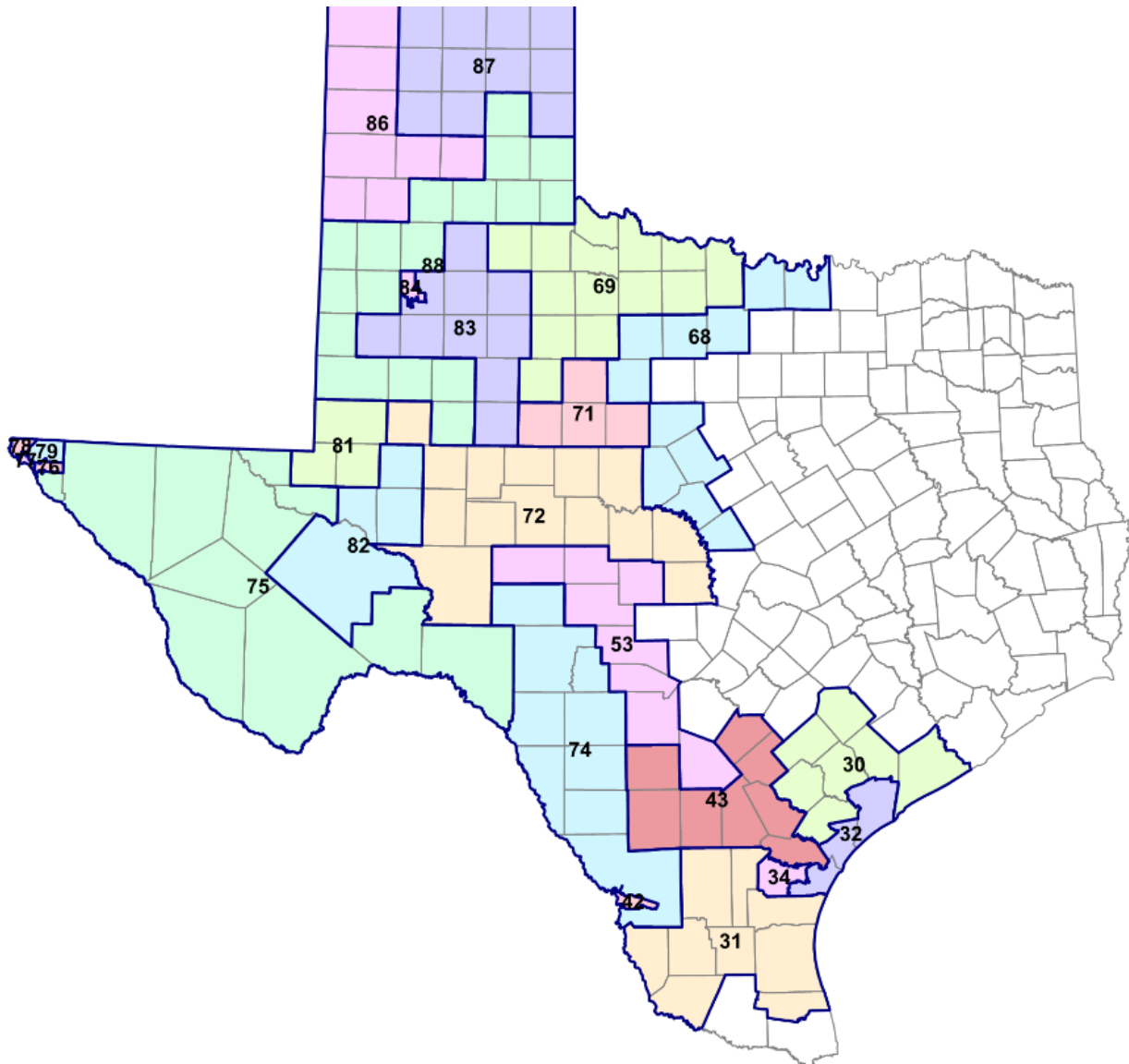


145. The two graphs that capture the contrast between population deviations in the Moody Plan and the percentages of the vote for Valdez in the 1988 gubernatorial general election and Biden in the 2020 presidential general election are somewhat more subdued than Figure 27 is, but they show the same general pattern. Districts won by Valdez and Biden were usually, but not always, underpopulated, and districts that they lost were always overpopulated. Again, the partisan tilt of the Moody Plan, like its ethnic tilt, emphasizes by contrast the anti-Hispanic and pro-Republican bias of Plan 2316.



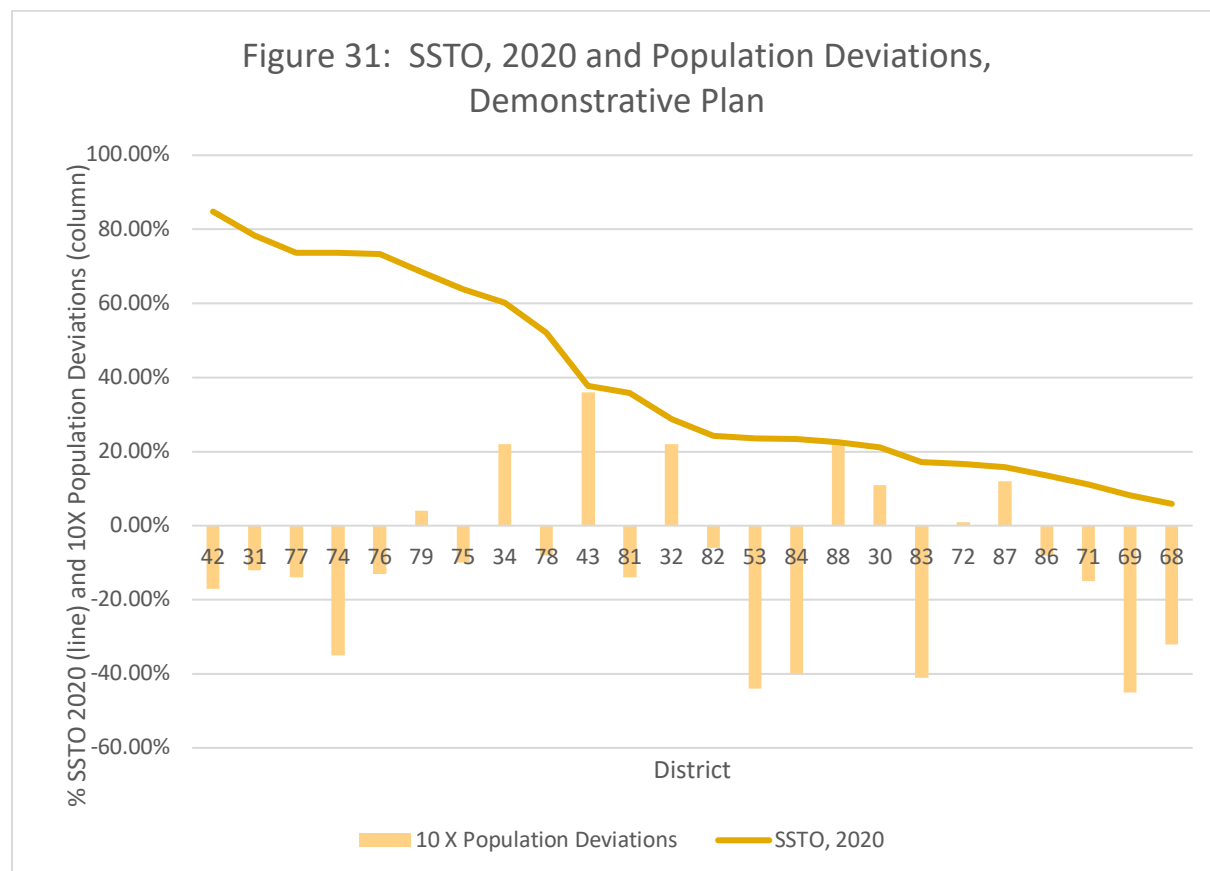
146. A demonstrative plan produced by MALC and MALDEF contrasts with both plans 2316 and 2192. Figure 30 shows that the demonstrative map contains not only the areas in plan 2316, but much of the rest of the Rio Grande Valley, 24 districts in all. Unlike the Moody Plan, the demonstrative plan does not contain any of the large urban areas in the central, eastern, and southern area of the state.

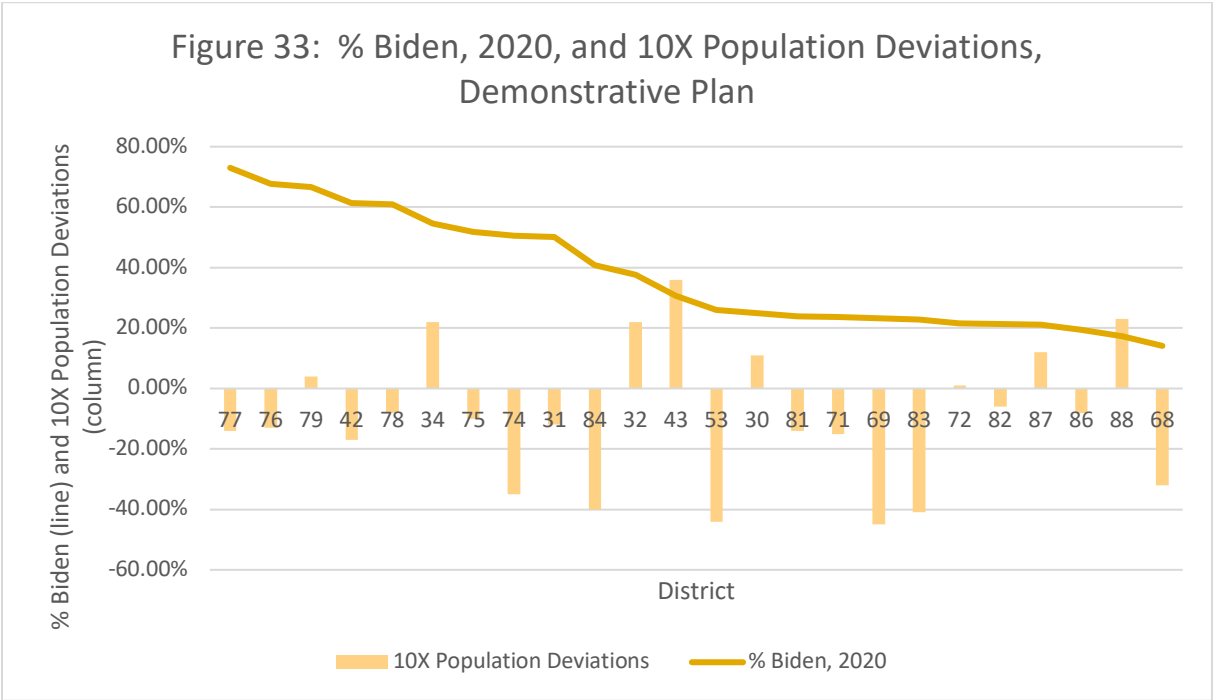
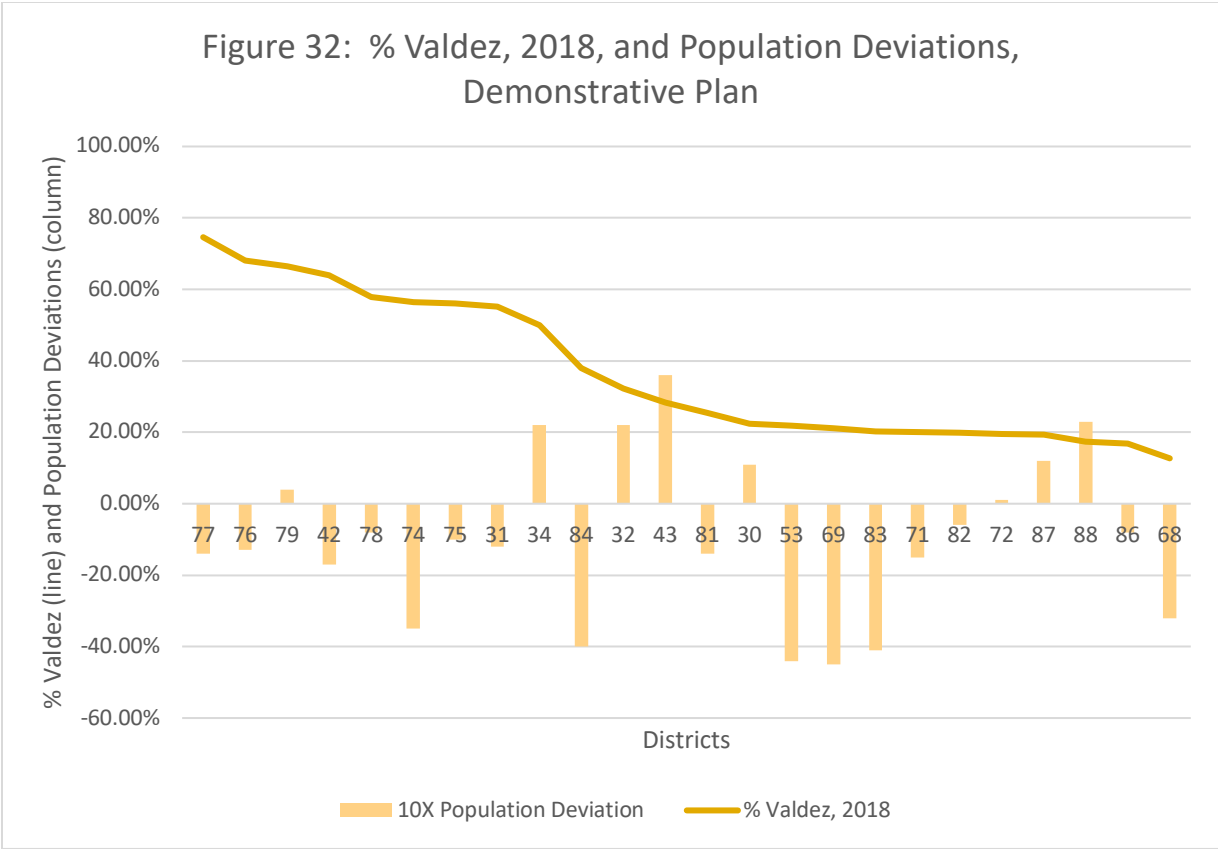
Figure 30: The MALC/MALDEF Demonstrative Plan



147. As Figure 31 shows, the population deviations in the demonstrative plan are considerably smaller than those of plans 2192 and 2316, with only 5 varying from the ideal district size by as much as 4% (40% in the graphs). And the deviations in the demonstrative plan are not so one-sided as in plans 2192 and 2316. While 7 of the 9 majority-Spanish surname turnout districts are underpopulated, only one of them deviates from the ideal population by as much as 3%. Only 6 of the 15 minority-SSTO districts are overpopulated, and 4 of the 15 are underpopulated by 4% or more. Of the 4 plans depicted in this report, the pattern of ethnic percentages and population disparities in the demonstrative plan much more closely resemble those in the pre-2021 plan depicted in Figure 19 than they do the analogous patterns in the adopted and Moody plans in Figures 23 and 27.

148. As in the other plans, the contrasts between population disparities and the Valdez and Biden votes in the demonstrative plan parallel the contrasts of population disparities and SSTO. See Figures 32 and 33. Of the 9 districts that Biden carried, 7 are underpopulated in the demonstrative plan, but only one by as much as 3%; of the 15 carried by Trump, 6 are underpopulated under this plan. The fact that the demonstrative plan does not fit the characteristics of a partisan population gerrymander described in the *Larios* opinion supports the argument that both plans 2192 and 2316 are much closer to a *Larios* configuration.





XIII. State Board of Education

149. The redistricting of the State Board of Education (SBOE) attracted less attention from legislators and the public than the more visible congressional and state legislative remaps. But it is worth treating because of its importance in the race/culture wars that divide Texas political parties and because its remapping fits so well into the patterns that should now be familiar to the readers of this report. The most altered districts were those where minorities comprised district percentages of near-majority proportions – that is, where diluting minority votes would have the largest effects on the outcomes of elections.

150. Long before board of education meetings and elections in other states began to be featured on cable newscasts, the Texas SBOE attracted national attention for the bitterness of its ideological battles. Would “intelligent design” have to be taught in biology?²⁰³ Would sex education classes be required to discuss consent to sex, gender identity, or the existence of people who identified as LGBTQ?²⁰⁴ Would a state with a Latino majority of students authorize a high school elective in Mexican-American history? If such a course was authorized, would a textbook that included ethnic stereotypes be adopted?²⁰⁵ By the time redistricting was being planned in the legislature, of course, the hot topic was “critical race theory,” and in 2022, almost all of the Republican nominees for the SBOE made “critical race theory” the centerpiece of their campaigns.²⁰⁶ When nearly three-quarters of Texas k-12 students were Latino, Black, or Asian-American,²⁰⁷ the SBOE would be dealing with some of the most fraught political issues in the

²⁰³ Aliyya Swaby, “New Republican on State Board of Education keeps mum on creationism/The new Republican State Board of Education representative isn’t saying whether he’ll vote to remove creationism from state science curriculum standards.” *Texas Tribune*, Nov. 10, 2016, <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/11/10/new-sboe-republican-reserves-comment-creationism-d/>; Aliyya Swaby, “State education board focuses again on teaching of evolution/Language challenging evolution was removed from high school biology standards because it seemed too difficult for students to analyze and evaluate, the state education board was told Wednesday.” *id.*, Nov. 16, 2016, <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/11/16/committee-argues-no-bias-striking-creationist-biol/>; Aliyya Swaby, “In preliminary vote, State Board of Education keeps controversial evolution standards/A day after hearing from scientists begging them to remove controversial language from science standards that some say opens the door to creationism, State Board of Education members took a preliminary vote Wednesday to do the opposite.” *id.*, Feb. 1, 2017, <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/02/01/state-board-ed-takes-preliminary-vote-evolution-st/>.

²⁰⁴ Aliyya Swaby, “Texas gives preliminary approval for revised school sex ed policy that excludes LGBTQ issues/After marathon meetings over three days, the Republican-dominated board also rejected efforts to teach students about consent. It is expected to take a final vote in November.” *Texas Tribune*, Sept. 11, 2020, <https://www.texastribune.org/2020/09/11/texas-sex-ed-policy-LGBTQ/>.

²⁰⁵ Andrea Zelinski, “State Board of Education strips ‘Mexican-American Studies’ name from elective,” *Houston Chronicle*, April 11, 2018, <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/State-Board-of-Education-to-weigh-standards-for-12824376.php>.

²⁰⁶ Brian Lopez, “Several Texas Republicans against ‘critical race theory’ advance in State Board of Education primary races/All 15 seats of the State Board of Education are up for grabs in November, and there were more than 50 candidates vying for their parties’ nominations.” *Texas Tribune*, March 2, 2022, <https://www.texastribune.org/2022/03/02/critical-race-theory-state-board-education/>.

²⁰⁷ Elvia Limon, “Gov. Greg Abbott signs off on Texas’ new political maps, which protect GOP majorities while diluting voices of voters of color/Texas lawmakers drew new maps for the state House and Senate, congressional delegation and State Board of Education. Here’s what Texans should know about the 2021 redistricting outcomes.” *Texas Tribune*, Oct. 25, 2021, https://www.texastribune.org/2021/10/25/2021-texas-redistricting-explained/?utm_source=Texas+Tribune+Newsletters&utm_campaign=4732240329-trib-newsletters-breaking-

state. Thus, control of that 15-member body was significant, and it was tenuous. Even though Republicans in 2021 controlled the board by 9-6, President Trump carried only 8 SBOE districts, which would have left the Board only 8-7 Republican if the districts had not been reshaped, assuming that partisanship determined the election returns for the SBOE, as had been the case in the recent past.²⁰⁸ Five of the 6 Democrats on the SBOE in 2022 are people of color. All 9 of the Republicans are non-Hispanic white.²⁰⁹

151. Although SB7 originated in the Senate, it was not much discussed there, at least in the transcripts that I have seen. In the House Redistricting Committee, Chair Hunter was unable to answer questions about the plan, merely referring to a Senate report on the bill. During the House Floor Debate, when Rep. Anchia pointed out that Plan E2106 reduced the Spanish surname voter registration in SBOE District 3, which had a Latino incumbent, by over 10 percentage points, from 59% to 48.8%, Rep. Hunter responded only “I cannot confirm that,” refusing not only to debate, but even to acknowledge the decrease. Rep. Anchia then asked whether E2106 reduced the Spanish surname voter registration in SBOE District 1 from 65% to 60%. Rep. Hunter: “I cannot confirm that.” Rep. Anchia: “Is it correct that it would also lower the non-Anglo population in District 6 by nearly 10 percent [sic: percentage points], from 62 percent people of color down to 53.6 percent? Chair Hunter: And I cannot confirm that, Mr. Anchia.”

152. Making a larger case for racial discrimination, Rep. Anchia continued the dialogue

CHAIR ANCHIA: Okay. And so just as District 6 is about to become a performing minority coalition district, this map would take it apart and move portions into predominantly Anglo Montgomery County. Is -- is that your understanding, as well?

CHAIR HUNTER: And cannot confirm that, as well, either, sir.

CHAIR ANCHIA: Thank you. And in your analysis of -- of this map, was it possible or, indeed, required by the Voting Rights Act to draw a majority Hispanic citizen voting age population district in Harris County while also drawing an African American opportunity district in Harris County?

CHAIR HUNTER: Not able to specifically answer . . .²¹⁰

153. Figure 34 affirms Rep. Anchia’s analysis, concentrating, as in analogous graphs about Congress and the State House, on the non-Hispanic white CVAP. As before, I have circled the portions of the graph where changes increased the non-Hispanic white percentage above the Benchmark in the center of the graph. In particular, District 6 jumps from 50.7% non-Hispanic white in the Benchmark to 58.6% in the adopted plan, as it expands from Harris County into Montgomery County. Districts 10 and 12, which might otherwise be expected to drift down into

[alert&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_d9a68d8efc-4732240329-101201265&mc_cid=4732240329&mc_cid=78249492c1.](#)

²⁰⁸ *Id.*

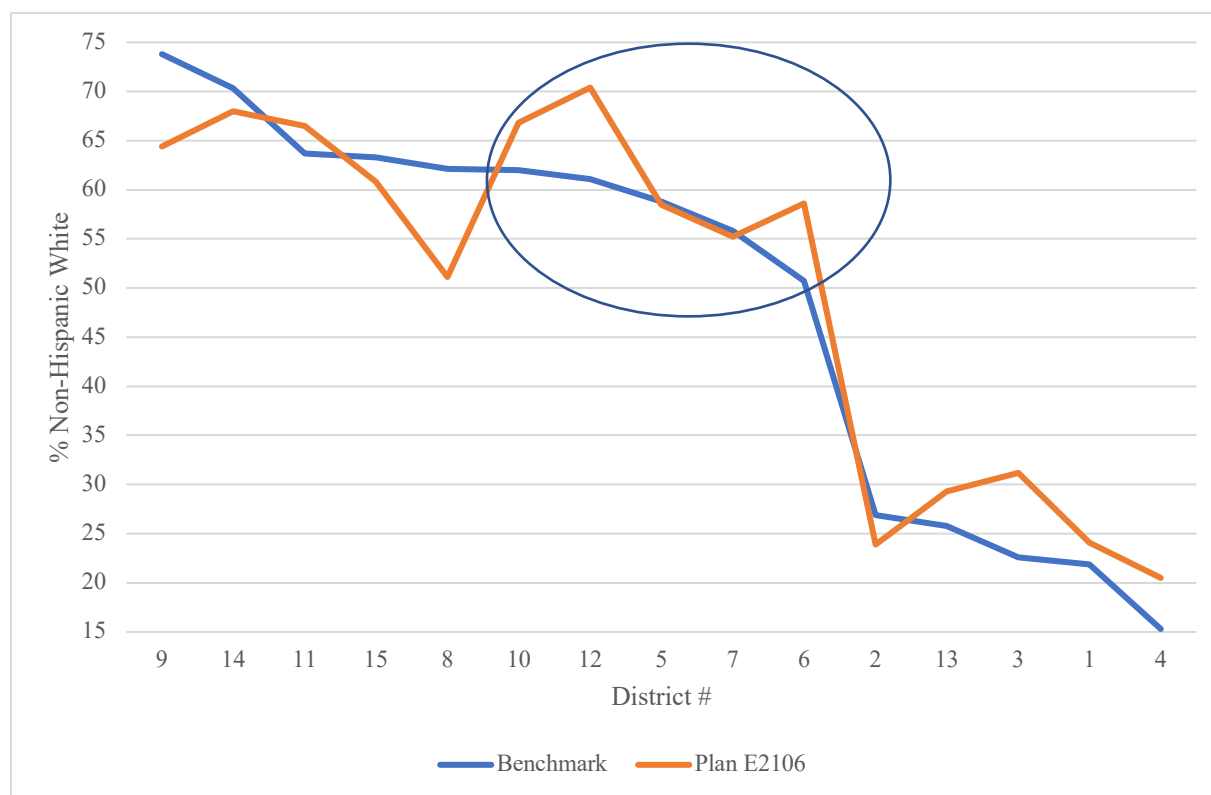
²⁰⁹ Brian Lopez, “Several Texas Republicans against ‘critical race theory’ advance in State Board of Education primary races/All 15 seats of the State Board of Education are up for grabs in November, and there were more than 50 candidates vying for their parties’ nominations.” *Texas Tribune*, March 2, 2022 (for partisanship), <https://www.texastribune.org/2022/03/02/critical-race-theory-state-board-education/>; <https://tea.texas.gov/about-tea/leadership/state-board-of-education/sboe-board-members/sboe-members> (for ethnic ID).

²¹⁰ House Floor Debate, Oct. 15, 2021, transcript at 5-6.

the competitive zone over the 2020s, are moved up into safety zones for non-Hispanic whites. District 8 may seem an anomaly, but in 2022, Democrats failed even to field a candidate for District 8, which wraps around the city of Houston in its suburbs.²¹¹ Reconfigurations of the districts in the Harris County area, as Rep. Anchia suggested, might have shifted a seat or even two in the increasingly multicultural area.

²¹¹ Brian Lopez, “Several Texas Republicans against ‘critical race theory’ advance in State Board of Education primary races/All 15 seats of the State Board of Education are up for grabs in November, and there were more than 50 candidates vying for their parties’ nominations.” *Texas Tribune*, March 2, 2022.

**Figure 34: Non-Hispanic White CVAP in State Board of Education Districts:
Benchmark vs. Plan E2106**



XIV. Impact

154. The evaluation of prospective impact contributes to an understanding of the intent of a redistricting plan because we know that skilled politicians and operators consider such an impact when drafting or revising or determining their attitude toward plans. Although other experts in this case have measured the impact of the redistricting plans, it may be worthwhile to consider a few numbers briefly.

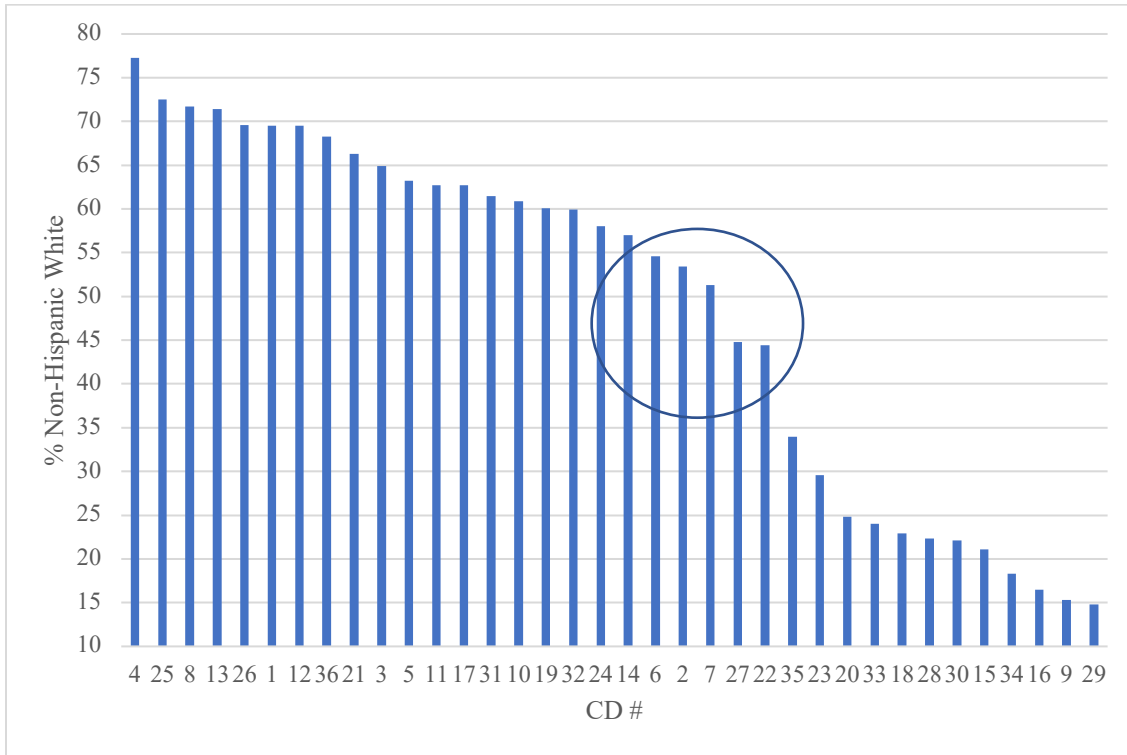
155. Figure 35a, which is in the same form as Figure 3, above, arrays the 36 congressional districts as they existed in 2020, the Benchmark Plan C2100, ranking them from the most heavily non-Hispanic white to the least. To the right in the graph, it shows how packed majority-minority districts were, with 11 that were 70% or more minority (30% non-Hispanic white). By comparison, on the left of the graph, only four districts were 70% or more non-Hispanic white. Packing put minorities at a real disadvantage in winning more districts. In the center, which I have circled, are 5 districts in a competitive range, from 44% to 55% non-Hispanic white. Competition in this sense was quite limited, even in the Benchmark Plan.

156. But Plan C2193 was even more unfavorable to minorities. Despite all of the minority population growth from 2010 to 2020 and the addition of two congressional seats to Texas, there were still 10 congressional districts that were 70% or more minority. With the packing went less competition. Instead of 5 districts within the competitive range, there were only 3. Moreover, there were 2 more districts – 18, instead of 16, that were more than 60% non-Hispanic white – landslide range.

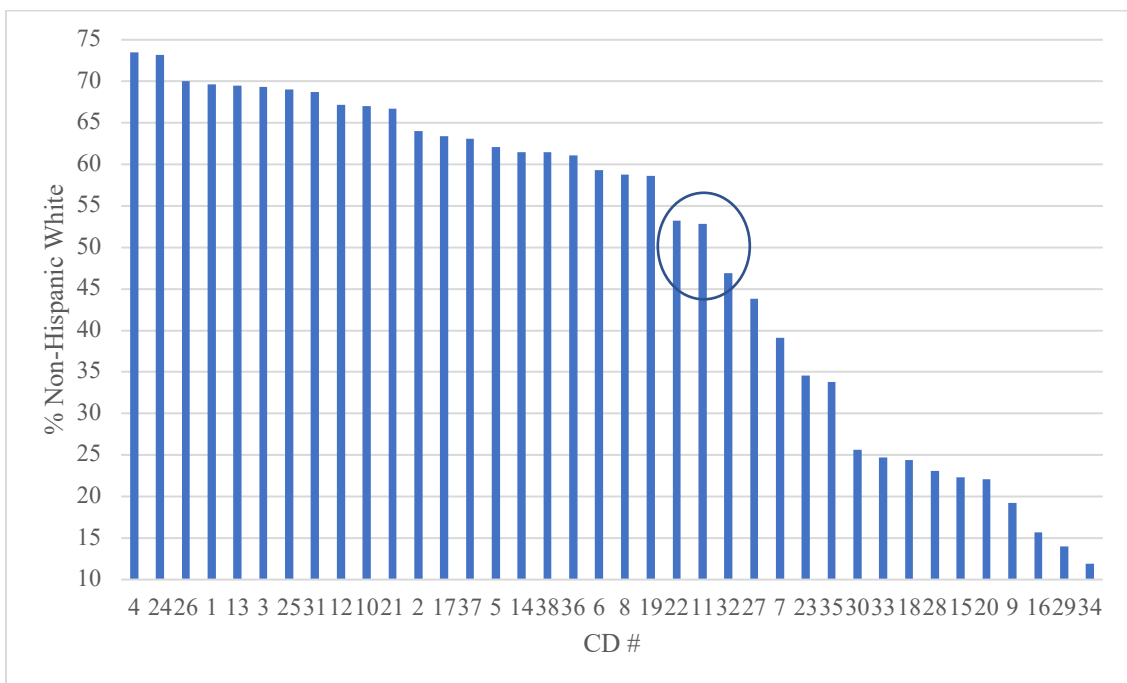
157. Overall, an unfavorable districting situation for minorities in the Benchmark deteriorated even more in Plan C2193.

Figure 35: Impact of C2193: % Non-Hispanic White in Benchmark and C2193 Plans

A. Benchmark % Non-Hispanic White



B. Plan C2193

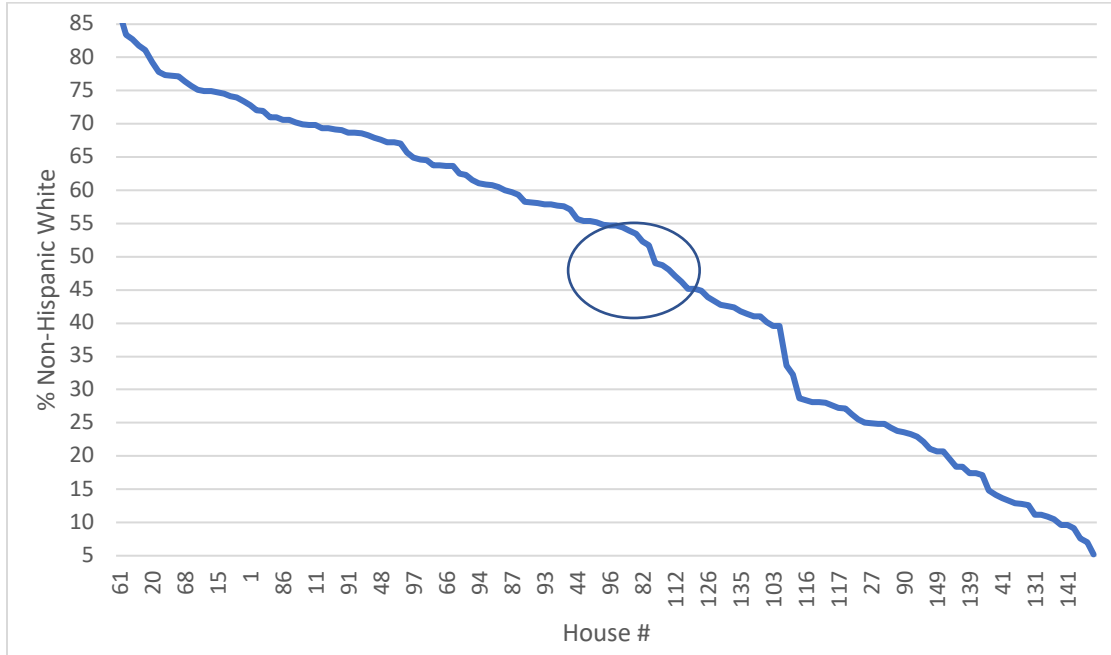


158. Figure 36 makes the same sort of comparison between the benchmark and the state House plan, H2316, but it uses lines instead of bar graphs, because the number of House districts, 150, are too large to convey using bars on this size of a page. The story is the same. More packed minority than Anglo districts, a small number of ethnically competitive districts in the Benchmark, and an even smaller one, shown by the ellipses, in the adopted plan. By this measure, in state House districts, discrimination went from bad before 2021 to worse after it.

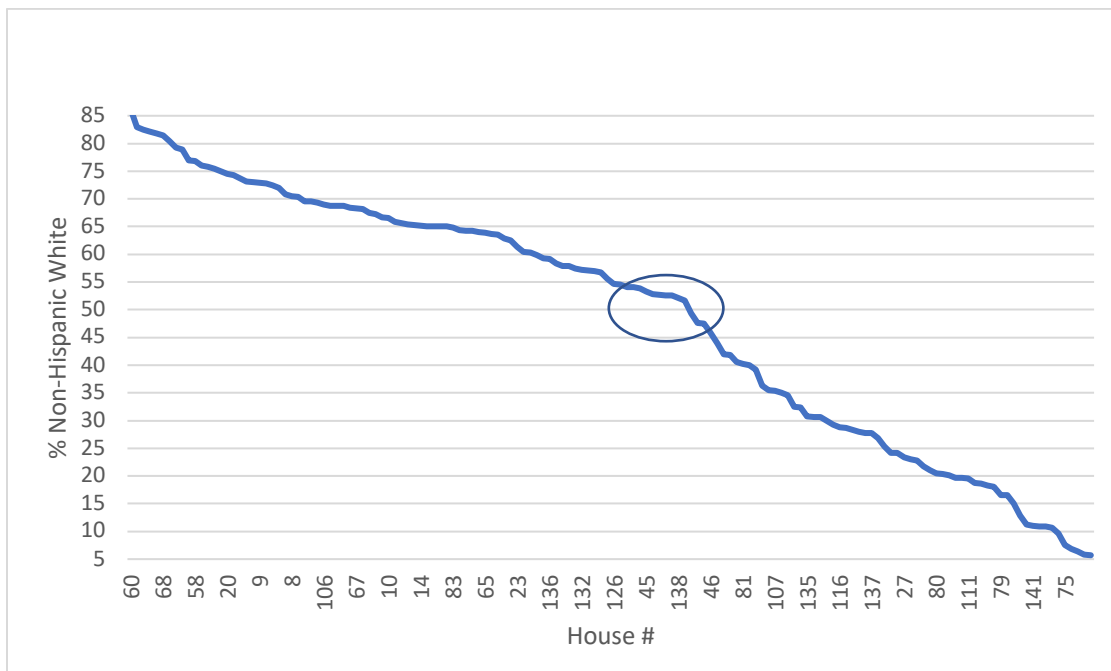
159. If impact is a key to measuring intent, the state overviews that these graphs provide would seem to make a strong case for discriminatory intent.

Figure 36: Impact of H2316: % Non-Hispanic White in Benchmark and H2316 Plans

A. Benchmark % Non-Hispanic White



B. Plan H2316



XV. Hypotheses about Intent

160. Historians and political scientists conventionally state hypotheses or at least implicitly make use of them, present evidence relevant to them, and make conclusions. So although I realize that it is only in the judges' power to determine facts and legal conclusions, it is appropriate for me as an expert historian to attempt to formulate hypotheses and present my own evaluation of them, understanding that judges may take or leave anything that I have gathered, organized, and analyzed.

161. One obvious hypothesis might be called the civic duty hypothesis: In this view, the legislators were required to reapportion every ten years, they gathered data, acquired the technical expertise to analyze it, formulated non-partisan, non-racial goals, listened to the best legal advice about what the requirements were, and simply placed people into compact, fair districts using a completely transparent process. Nothing about this hypothesis except the legal necessity to reapportion fits the Texas case. As the continuing history of discrimination in the state, most pertinently in redistricting, makes clear, analysts should approach each Texas redistricting expecting bitter partisanship and a racially discriminatory process and result. Because the State made little effort to get people to respond to the Census, Texas had the largest undercount in the nation, so even data gathering was flawed in a way that was likely racially discriminatory. The stated goals of redistricting leaders included partisanship, and the results showed that they succeeded in attaining that goal. Because race and partisanship are so completely intertwined in Texas politics, partisan discrimination was tantamount to racial discrimination. The legal advice was given in private, and the redistricting leaders refused to divulge or discuss the advice they received. The same leaders ignored compactness and scoffed at fairness. They excluded minority legislators from participation in shaping the overall districting plans.

162. A second hypothesis would flow from Sen. Joan Huffman's endlessly repeated claim to have performed the line drawing "blind to race." First, it is unclear who drew the congressional and House districts, so Sen. Huffman's claim could apply at best only to the Senate and SBOE. And even there, she acknowledged that attorneys vetted the plans before and after wearing glasses that saw citizens' races with great precision, not blind to color. Second, when she and Rep. Todd Hunter, her House counterpart, discussed alternatives to their plans, they did so again and again in racial terms. To accept the race blind hypothesis, we would have to believe that astute, veteran politicians and behind-the-scenes operatives who knew the massive state well enough to manage an intricate project of remapping temporarily forgot or ignored the largest fact – the state's racial polarization – of the state's politics and society. Third, even if they pretended to ignore race, they certainly knew that partisanship tracked race over geographical areas, so they could use partisanship as a near-perfect proxy for race. And no one denied that they considered partisanship in drawing lines.

163. A third possibility is that individual politicians just made backstairs deals to guarantee their political longevity. No doubt there were some such deals, as there always are. But many of the 36 figures that I have presented in this report show that the redistricting went well beyond individual opportunism. The patterns of racial and partisan bias were systematic. Republican

fortunes had declined between 2014 and 2018, just as more ethnic minorities moved to Texas, especially to suburbs around the Metroplex, Austin, San Antonio, and Houston, where congressional and other districts were becoming more competitive. The state's growth was in cities and suburbs, and that was where minorities were becoming most prevalent. Rural areas, especially white rural areas, which had become the heart of a Republican Party whose leaders were increasingly reliant on the appeal of the "Great Replacement Theory," were noticeably shrinking. In fact, holding back the tide that had made Texas a majority-minority state by 2010 and had put Latinos on the road to becoming the largest minority, larger than Anglos, probably by 2022, was a not inconsiderable task, as the shapes of some of the districts show. Whether or not the legal focus is on individual districts, it is important to take into account the overall pattern of the districting plans in determining whether racial discrimination was a or the prime motive.

164. A fourth possibility is partisanship, but as I have argued throughout this report, partisanship has not been separated from race in Texas since the First Reconstruction, and it cannot be now. During that First Reconstruction, the Democratic Party assailed its opposition as the "Black Republicans," and racial issues solidified the South, including Texas, within the Democratic Party from the passage of the Terrell Election Laws in the 20th century's first decade until the 1960s. As I argued in a long review article in 2010,²¹² southern politics was reshaped during the second half of the 20th century primarily by racial issues, and the review of works in political science in Prof. Barretto's report²¹³ demonstrates the continuation of the theme of the unbreakable link between race and politics in the more recent literature. Race could have been distinguished from partisanship in Texas redistricting in 2021 only in a fantasy country, one bearing almost no relationship to the state as it actually existed.

165. That leaves racial discrimination as a motive, and there is considerable evidence for it, especially the objective evidence of the graphs and maps, which show again and again that the redistricting made minorities worse off in politics. First, the history of racial discrimination in Texas political history, continuing into the present, creates a strong presumption that the dominant group in the Texas Legislature in 2021 would continue the pattern of racial discrimination in its redistricting plans. Second, the tactics of the 2011 redistricting, recounted in objective maps above, outlined a convenient means to perpetrate that discriminatory line-drawing, and maps drawn from 2021 districts show that the 2021 districts recapitulated the 2011 strategy. Third, graphs and qualitative information from the 2018 and 2020 elections showed that the dominant Republican Party was in some danger of losing its majority in Texas districts by 2021, and that it needed to pad its majorities in competitive districts. Fourth, demographic statistics about changes in the state's non-Anglo population between 1980 and 2020, the decline in the rural and small-town Anglo population in the most recent decade, and the growing multi-racial populations in the metropolitan areas of the state tie the partisan and racial challenges to the dominant group even more closely together. Simply stated, the statewide power of the core of the Republican Party was in danger from the growth of populations of color in 2021, as

²¹² "The Immutability of Categories and the Reshaping of Southern Politics," *Annual Reviews of Political Science*, 13 (2010), 365-83.

²¹³ Barretto Report, Section IV, at 13-18.

politicians who espoused the “Great Replacement Theory,” such as Lt. Gov. Patrick, recognized. Redistricting was the response.

166. Fifth, the process that the Texas Legislature employed in the 2021 redistricting was biased and designed to cover up its true motives. The standards that redistricting leaders used to assess the legality of plans under the Voting Rights Act and the constitution were vague and hidden. The process was unprecedentedly rushed, and the public and minority legislators had no opportunity to help shape the general plans and almost no opportunity to respond to them. The plans disregarded traditional districting principles such as compactness and the preservation of communities of interest and made no effort to recognize the dramatic growth in minority populations. Sixth, the basic structures of plans for each of the redistricted bodies were apparently drawn by consultants and attorneys whose goals and choices were secret and cannot be directly evaluated. That fact in itself should make anyone very skeptical of any public statements about motives by the State or any attorneys representing it. Seventh, debate, especially in the House, demonstrated in considerable detail the choices that the framers of the redistricting plans made by showing what the Legislature rejected. It had numerous chances to institute districts that were much more favorable to minorities, but still allowed adherence to other goals. Understanding what the Legislature rejected reemphasizes what it accepted and implies reasons for those choices.

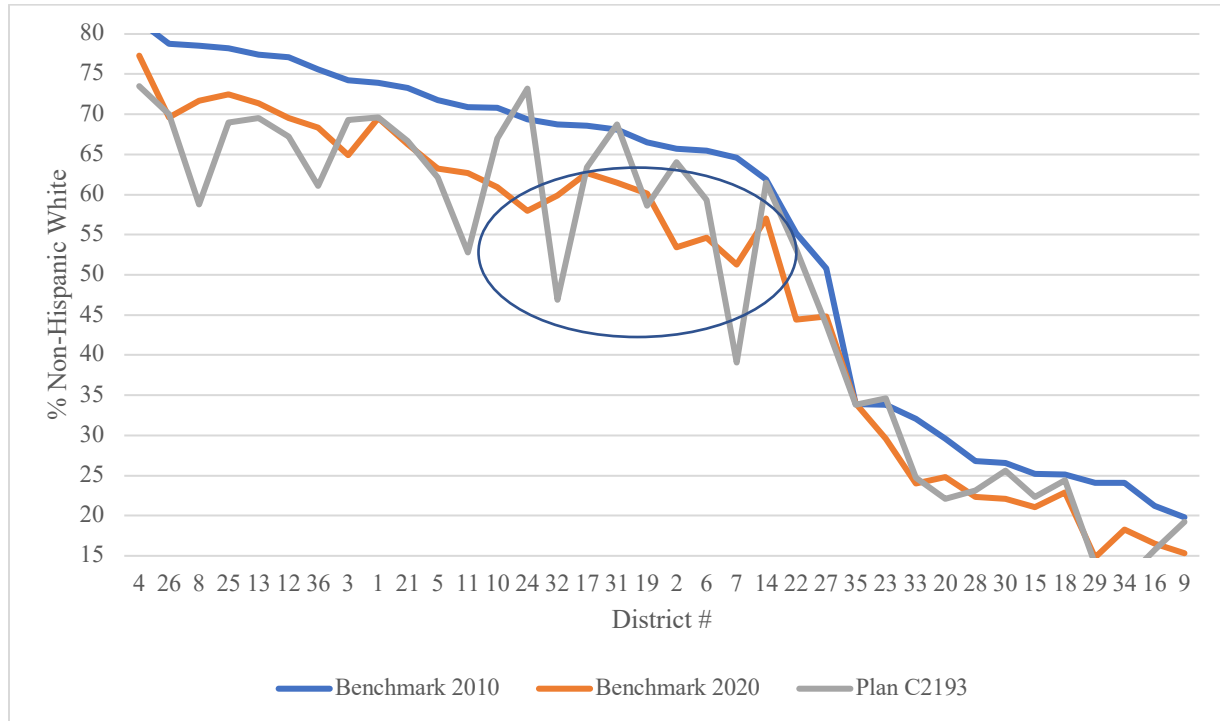
167. But most important, eighth, are the lines and maps, which demonstrate what the outcomes of all of those choices were. Rational politicians seeking to maintain control by the core ethnic group of the dominant political party, a group that accounted for at least 80% of that party’s votes, would concentrate their redistricting efforts on buttressing the districts that were close enough to be in danger of tipping in the decade ahead. Figure 37 adds to the graphs presented and discussed in Figures 10, 17, and 34 above a new line, corresponding to the percentages of non-Hispanic whites in each district as of 2011. The blue line in each graph is the percentages as of 2011, the orange line, the percentages in the same districts as of 2020, and the gray line is the percentages in the new districts. All are ordered by the % non-Hispanic white as of the districts in the 2011 plans. What they show for each house is the same general facts and the same strategy. The facts are that Anglo percentages dropped across the board from 2011 to 2020 (the orange lines are below the blue lines), but that the danger was in the districts around the competitive range. The strategy is revealed by the fact that the gray lines are mostly above the orange lines, particularly in the competitive areas within the blue circles. In other words, the response to the threats was to increase the Anglo percentages in most of those districts, although recognizing that the large growth in populations of color made it necessary to concede some districts, such as CDs 7 and 32. The patterns are the same in all four graphs. It is more difficult to sort out the pattern in the 150-seat House, but the circle spotlights districts that were in or near the competitive 45-55% range by 2020 which had their Anglo percentages (gray line) increased by Plan H2318. The Senate graph spotlights districts 9, 7, 10, and 17. The Board of Education graph focuses on District 6.

168. Such graphs collapse the artificial distinction in redistricting intent cases between statewide patterns and individual districts, showing how an overall intent is expressed in changes in

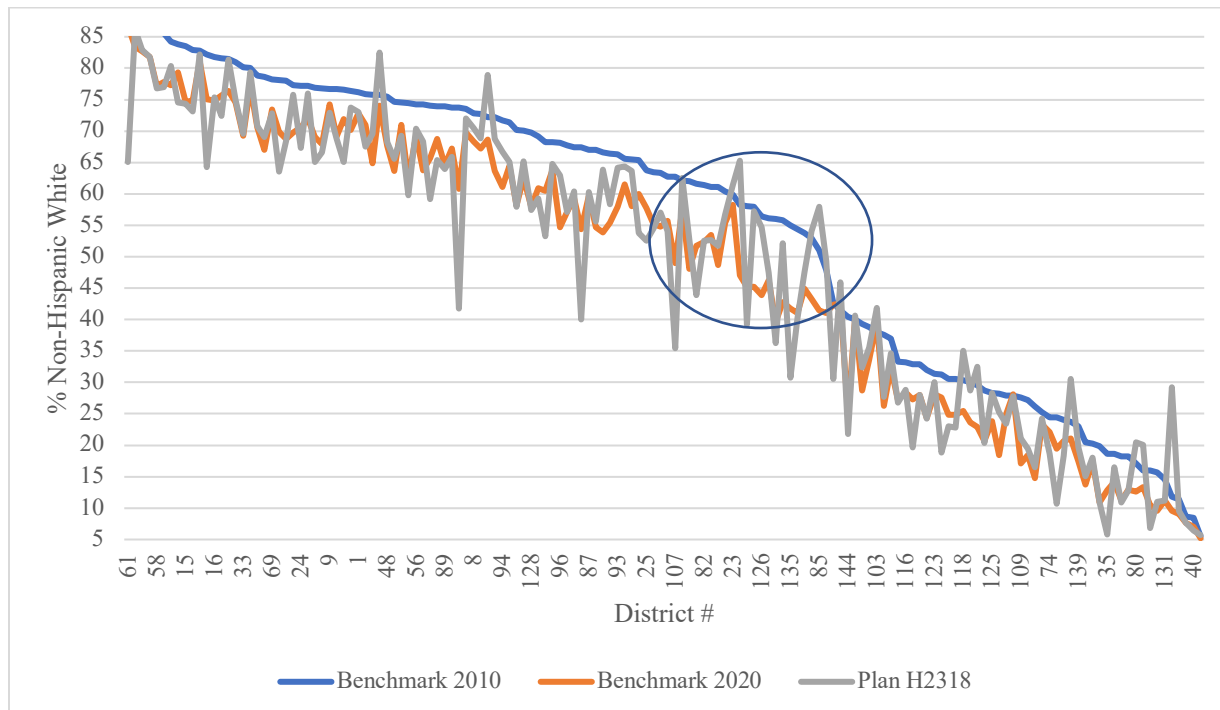
districts of a particular type – where the racial threat is most concentrated and the response is most effective in countering that threat. Redistricting is a purposeful activity; the output of the framers’ activity was to focus increases in the non-Hispanic white percentages in districts that were close to ethnic tipping points, which would likely escape Anglo control if demographic patterns continued the trends of the 2010s; the conclusion that the framers intended that outcome, and that it could only have been accomplished by concentrating on the races of those who were added to or subtracted from the marginal districts seems to follow as a syllogism.

Figure 37: Trying to Restore 2011: Benchmark as of 2011 and 2020, Compared to 2021 Plans

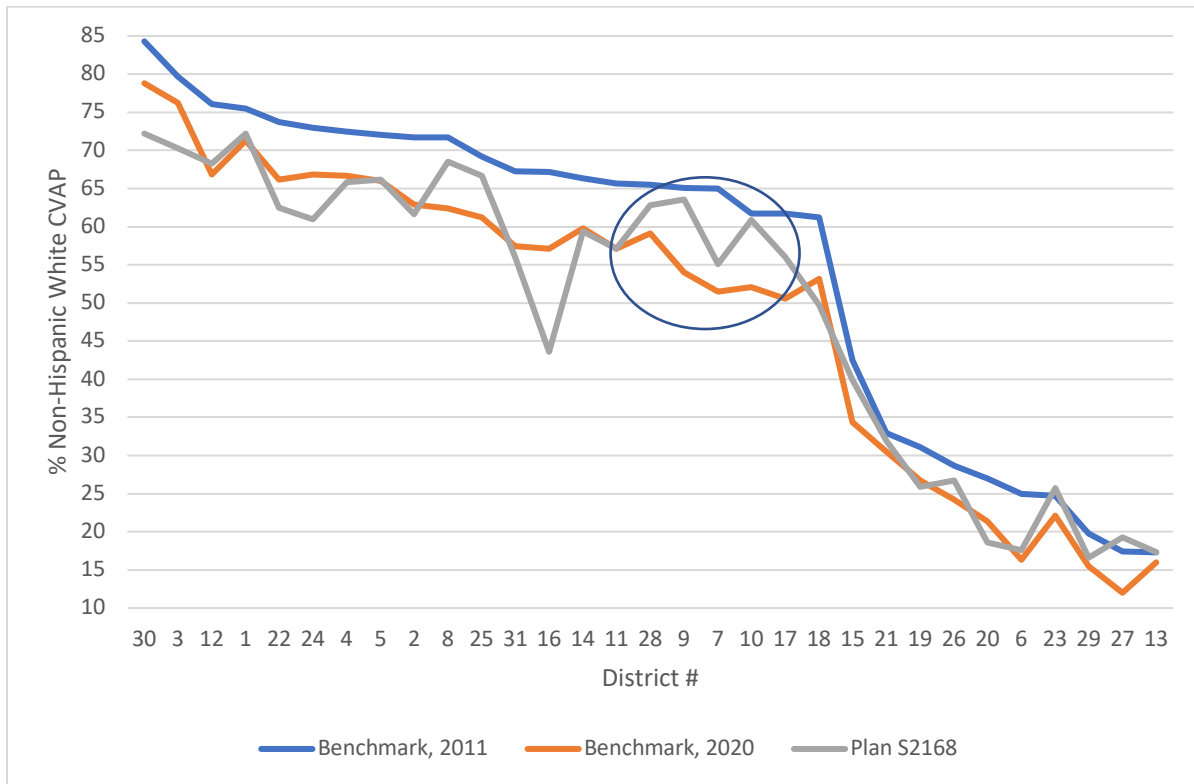
A. Congress



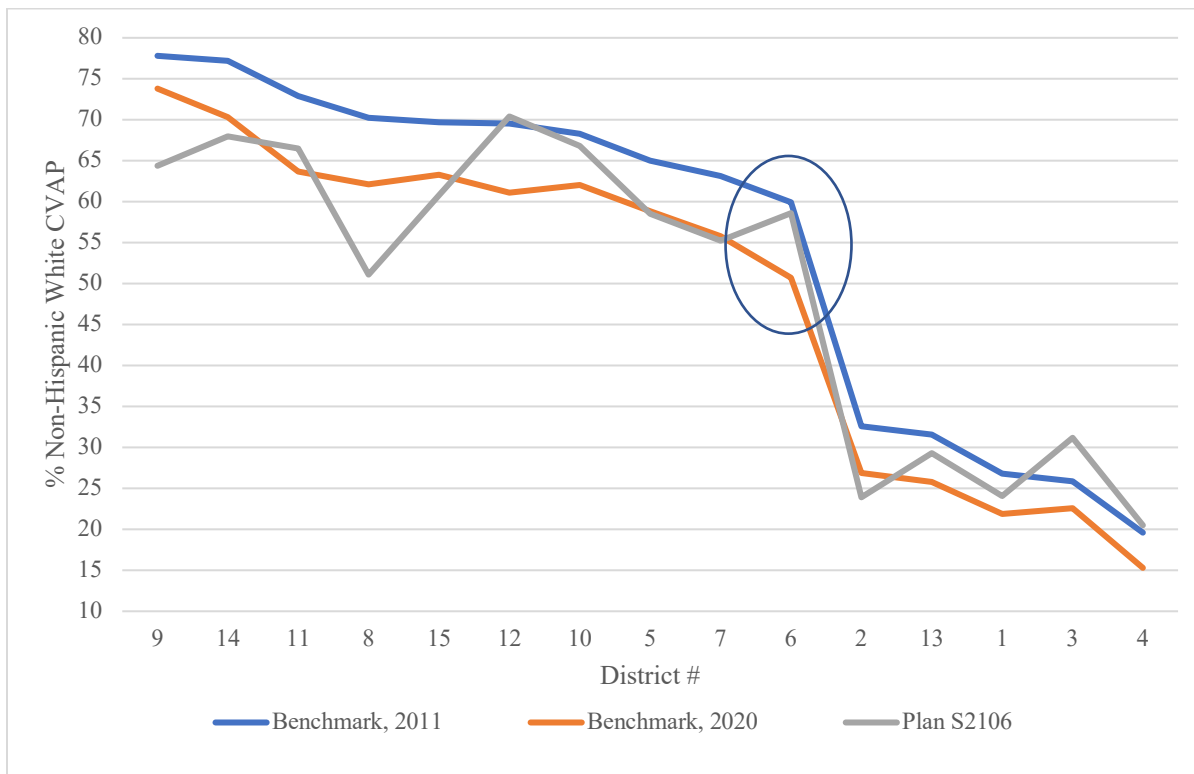
B. State House



C. State Senate



D. State Board of Education



XVI. Section Two Senate Factors

169. Senate Report 97-417 sets out seven “typical factors” and two “additional factors” that might be used to prove a violation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.²⁹³ As the Report notes at p. 28, n. 113, “These factors are derived from the analytical framework used by the Supreme Court in *White v. Regester*, 412 U.S. 755 (1973)], as articulated in *Zimmer v. McKeithen*, 485 F.2d 1297 (5th Cir. 1973)].”²⁹⁴ Because *White v. Regester* concerned at-large elections in Dallas and San Antonio, these factors are not entirely congruent with the particulars of state-wide election laws. Even though Section 2 cases focus on particular districts, discrimination in particular districts is obviously related to discrimination on a statewide basis. The state’s history of discrimination, statewide racial appeals, the adoption and continuation of statewide discriminatory healthcare and education laws, and so on has local effects throughout Texas. In addition, Appendix B to this report details some local conditions that are especially relevant to claims about particular districts, and more similar information may be available, either through my testimony or that of other experts, at trial. I will supplement this report with a list of cases, Section 5 objections, settlements, and other legal materials relating to local cases described above in paragraph 45. Moreover, political conditions have changed a great deal since 1973 – the Latino population has grown markedly in many states, more minorities have been elected to office, and the Republican Party has replaced the Democratic Party as the dominant one in the South. As a consequence, some of the “Senate factors,” such as factor #4 on slating processes, may be ignored in this case. To avoid excessive repetition, the Senate factors will be treated summarily here.

A. History of Racial Discrimination

170. Texas has an extensive history of racial discrimination, especially in elections, and that history has continued to be documented in legal cases through the 20th and 21st centuries. The recent history of redistricting in Texas is especially pertinent, for federal courts have found that Texas has discriminated racially in every redistricting since 1971. (See paragraphs 29-55) The immediate historical context, treated in paragraphs 56-61, sets the stage for the 2021 redistricting. The 2018 and 2020 elections in Texas showed a trend toward less secure control by the political party whose core support was Anglo. Many districts that had been safe earlier in the decade wavered, especially in the large urban areas and their suburbs, both of which were increasingly ethnically diverse. In 2011, the Republican Legislature had adopted the strategy, particularly obvious in congressional elections in the Dallas/Ft. Worth Metroplex and the Travis County area, of extending tentacles into the heart of Black and Latino cities and appending them to long tails extending into the Anglo countryside, while packing Blacks and/or Latinos into city districts when they ran out of nearby rural areas to append to. That strategy had worked increasingly less well as more Blacks, Latinos, and Asian-Americans moved into the cities and suburbs. The obvious next move was to pack additional districts in the cities and extend the rural tails even further away from cities, making a travesty of forming districts around communities of interest.

B. Racially Polarized Voting

171. Voting in Texas continues to be quite racially polarized (paragraphs 64-70, 164). But the history of Texas, the survey responses of Texans of different political parties, and statements by major officeholders, such as Lt. Gov. Patrick, make clear that the polarization goes much deeper than casual habits. Partisan identities in Texas are deeply connected with racial identities, and both are deeply connected with issue stances. Recently, Gov. Greg Abbott has even floated the idea of cutting off all governmental services to undocumented persons by repealing the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case of *Plyler v. Doe*, a move that would have severe consequences for hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of Texans, particularly Latinos.²¹⁴

C. Voting Practices that Tend to Enhance the Opportunity for Discrimination

172. The State and localities in Texas have used such practices, such as at-large elections. From 1957 through 2020, at-large elections were struck down in 358 jurisdictions as a result of legal action or threatened legal action, enabling minorities finally to be elected. Racial gerrymandering was alleviated in 193 instances. Another 147 cases involved polling place changes, voting materials available only in English, or other instances of “vote denial.” Voting rights laws, including Section 5 before 2013, exposed racial discrimination in local governments throughout Texas. During the same period, the State of Texas has been found to have violated voting rights laws 37 times, a record surpassed only by the state of Mississippi.

D. Minorities Bear the Effects of Discrimination

173. Blacks and Latinos are less affluent than whites in Texas. According to the 2019 American Community Survey, white median household income was \$53,286, compared to \$36,464 for Black households and \$37,019 for Latino households.²¹⁵ In other words, the average white Texas household receives nearly 50% more income than the average Black or Latino household. In Dallas and Tarrant Counties, the poverty rate for Anglos in 2016-20 was 7%; for Latinos, 17.4%; for Blacks, 18%.²¹⁶ Ninety-five percent of Anglos in Texas own a vehicle, compared to 92.5% of Latinos and only 86.4% of Blacks.²¹⁷ The deficits extend to education, as well. While in the 2010 5-year American Community Survey, which is the most recent data available on the Census website for this statistic, only 8.9% of whites finished less than 9 years of schooling,

²¹⁴ 457 U.S. 202 (1982). For Abbott’s statement, see Kate McGee, “Gov. Greg Abbott says federal government should cover cost of educating undocumented students in Texas public schools/Abbott expanded on comments he made about he wants to ‘resurrect’ the 1982 U.S. Supreme Court case *Plyler v. Doe*, which guaranteed that public schools would educate all students regardless of citizenship status.” Texas Tribune, May 5, 2022, https://www.texastribune.org/2022/05/05/greg-abbott-plyler-doe-education/?mc_cid=27df8d5432&mc_cid=78249492c1.

²¹⁵ Table DP03.

²¹⁶ ACS 2020 5-year estimates, collected in Social Explorer, tables A13001B, A13001L, and A13001I.

²¹⁷ Table DP04.

compared to 25.4% for Latinos and 4.1% for Blacks. A full 27.4% of whites have at least bachelor's degrees, compared to 11.2% of Latinos and 18.9% of Blacks.²¹⁸

174. Racial inequality in Texas is pervasive in healthcare. In 2018, 14% of white Texans aged 19-64 were uninsured, compared to 21% of Blacks and 37% of Latinos. Twenty-three percent of whites, compared to 29% of Blacks and 45% of Latinos had no usual source of care – no doctor, no clinic, no HMO.²¹⁹ The age-adjusted prevalence of disability for whites in Texas was 26.1%, compared to 28.5% for Blacks and 30.0% for Latinos. Data on the seriousness of the disability by race does not seem to be available.²²⁰

175. The incidence of death by race in Texas due to Covid-19 captures the racial inequalities in Texas's healthcare system in stark terms. Funded by the Marguerite Casey Foundation, the Covid Tracking Project of *The Atlantic* magazine collected data, by race, from each state, including Texas, from April 12, 2020 until March 7, 2021.²²¹ Although Texas did not report complete data by race on cases or any data by race for tests or hospitalizations for this period, the Covid Tracking Project's is the most easily available data by race for Texas that we have. Figure 38, compiled from data from that source, demonstrates dramatically the racial differences in the impact of Covid-19 in Texas. As early as May 2020, Blacks and Latinos were suffering from Covid appreciably more than Anglos were. By August, when the number of cumulative cases had grown considerably, the racial gap had mushroomed. The racial disproportions on death rates from Covid, for which the data is much more complete than for case numbers, were similar. The proportion of the Black population that died from Covid by election day, 2020 in Texas was 11% higher than that of Anglos. Latinos were 83% more likely than Anglos to have died.²²²

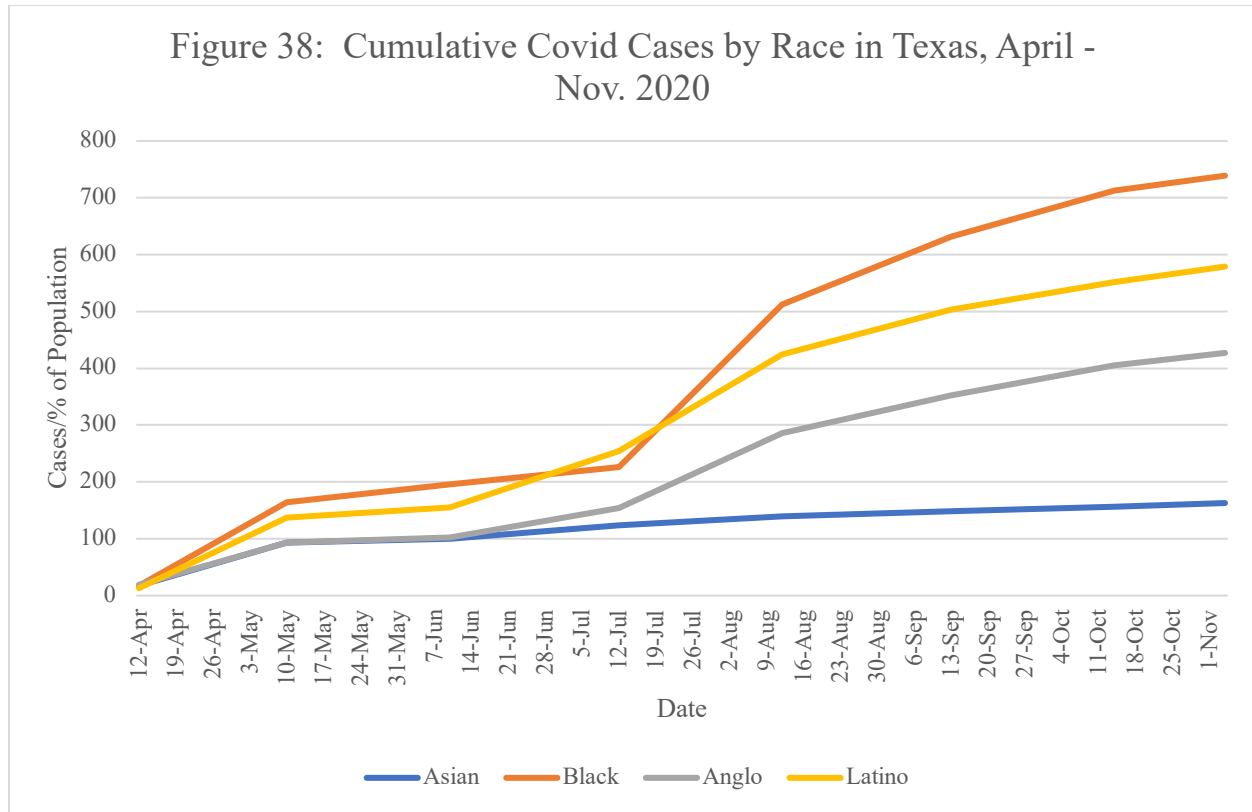
²¹⁸ Table DP02.

²¹⁹ Commonwealth Fund 2020 Scorecard on State Health System Performance, <https://www.commonwealthfund.org/publications/scorecard/2020/sep/2020-scorecard-state-health-system-performance>.

²²⁰ This is CDC data from the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, as of 2019 <https://dhds.cdc.gov/SP?LocationId=48&CategoryId=DISEST&ShowFootnotes=true&showMode=&IndicatorIds=S TATTYPE,AGEIND,SEXIND,RACEIND,VETIND&pnl0=Chart,false,YR4,CAT1,BO1,,,,AGEADJPREV&pnl1=Chart,false,YR4,DISSTAT,,,,PREV&pnl2=Chart,false,YR4,DISSTAT,,,,AGEADJPREV&pnl3=Table,false,YR4,DISSTAT,,,,AGEADJPREV&pnl4=Chart,false,YR4,DISSTAT,,,,AGEADJPREV>.

²²¹ <https://covidtracking.com/race/about/>.

²²² All data compiled from <https://covidtracking.com/data/state/texas/race-ethnicity>.



E. Racial Appeals

176. The current and continuing furor over “critical race theory” and banning books that focus on the history of minorities or discrimination from k-12 schools, state universities, and public libraries provides a qualitative index of the climate of racial politics. During the first special session of 2021, the Legislature passed S.B. 3, which stripped out most mentions of women and people of color that had previously been required to be treated in the k-12 social studies curriculum – Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Martin Luther King Jr., Susan B. Anthony, and Frederick Douglass among them. It also removed the requirement to teach “the history of white supremacy, including but not limited to the institution of slavery, the eugenics movement, and the Ku Klux Klan, and the ways in which it is morally wrong.”²²³ The fact that Texas is competing with Florida in attacks by legislators and public officials on the arcane academic research agenda is perhaps enough to indicate the current warmth of the racial climate without arguing about details. A sense of the controversy may be gleaned from, for example, the following articles:

²²³ <https://capitol.texas.gov/BillLookup/History.aspx?LegSess=871&Bill=SB3>; Isabella Zou, “Texas Senate bill seeks to strip required lessons on people of color and women from ‘critical race theory’ law/the bill would also remove a requirement to teach that white supremacy is ‘morally wrong.’ One Democratic lawmaker said the bill’s attempts could lead to a ‘frightening dystopian future.’” *Texas Tribune*, July 9, 2021, https://www.texastribune.org/2021/07/09/texas-critical-race-theory-schools-legislation/?mc_cid=92258f9d4b&mc_cid=78249492c1.

- Duncan Agnew, “GOP lawmakers want to ban ‘woke philosophies’ like critical race theory in Texas schools,” *Texas Tribune*, May 5, 2021, <https://www.texastribune.org/2021/05/05/texas-critical-race-theory-schools-legislature/>.
- Patrick Svitek, “Texas public schools couldn’t require critical race theory lessons under bill given House approval,” *Texas Tribune*, May 11, 2021, <https://www.texastribune.org/2021/05/11/critical-race-theory-texas-schools-legislature/>.
- Kate McGee, “Texas’ divisive bill limiting how students learn about current events and historic racism passed by Senate,” *Texas Tribune*, May 22, 2021, <https://www.texastribune.org/2021/05/22/texas-critical-race-theory-legislature/>.
- Kate McGee, “Texas educators worry bill limiting the teaching of current events and historic racism would ‘whitewash history,’” *Texas Tribune*, May 26, 2021, <https://www.texastribune.org/2021/05/26/texas-teachers-critical-race-theory-legislature/>.
- Kate McGee, “Texas ‘critical race theory’ bill limiting teaching of current events signed into law,” *Texas Tribune*, June 15, 2021, <https://www.texastribune.org/2021/06/15/abbott-critical-race-theory-law/>.
- Valeria Olivares and Talia Richman, “Dan Patrick wants to fight critical race theory by ending tenure at Texas’ colleges, universities,” *Dallas Morning News*, Feb. 18, 2022, https://www.dallasnews.com/news/education/2022/02/18/dan-patrick-wants-to-fight-critical-race-theory-by-ending-tenure-texas-colleges-universities/?utm_source=Newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_content=Dan+Patrick+takes+on+college+tenure%2C+check+your+baby+formula%2C+Grigsby+on+At+Last+p rogram%3A+Your+Friday+evening+roundup&utm_campaign=EveningRoundup_02182022&vgo_ee=2vPR0tE9vKeN0%2BofLVLmF1J%2BdLZKqRZDQ5JtGHiC%2Bnc%3D
- Hannah Dellinger, “Houston school board races emerge as ‘new battleground’ over critical race theory, book bans,” *Houston Chronicle*, May 3, 2022, <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/education/article/Houston-school-board-races-emerge-as-new-17144696.php>.

177. While many other southern states have found a way to push aside Confederate monuments, they still stand tall in Texas. During the 2021 session of the Legislature, the House refused to consider a bill by Rep. Rafael Anchia that would have facilitated removing the seven Confederate monuments on display at the state Capitol.²²⁴ A discussion over the provocative book “Forget the Alamo” had to be canceled because of pressure from Lt. Gov. Dan Patrick.²²⁵ Racial appeals and issues still sizzle in Texas.

²²⁴ <https://capitol.texas.gov/BillLookup/History.aspx?LegSess=87R&Bill=HB1186>; Alex Briseno, “Texas Legislature renews fight over removing Confederate monuments, other historical markers/Dallas Democratic Re. Rafael Anchia’s bill would remove Confederate portraits, monuments and artillery from the state Capitol and its grounds,” *Texas Tribune*, April 19, 2021, <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/politics/2021/04/19/texas-legislature-renews-fight-over-removing-confederate-monuments-other-historical-markers-92/>.

²²⁵ Jordan Bontke, “Lt. Gov. Patrick calls for a ‘Forget the Alamo’ panel. Author suspects ‘debunking’ effort,” CBS Austin, July 22, 2021, <https://cbsaustin.com/news/local/lt-gov-patrick-calls-for-a-forget-the-alamo-panel-author-suspects-debunking-effort>.

F. Election of Minorities to Office

177. Whites still dominate officeholding in Texas, holding 65% of state or federal elective offices, far above their 41.2% proportion in the population. (paragraph 63)

G. Responsiveness to the Particularized Needs of Minorities

178. Texas is the largest state that has refused to expand Medicaid under Obamacare. The result, as shown in paragraphs 174-75, is that Blacks and Latinos are much more likely than whites to have no medical insurance, and that Texas has the largest number of uninsured adults of any state in the country. This is despite the fact that the program would be almost entirely paid for by the federal government. “The chasm between Texans and their elected officials has never been more stark,” according to Patrick Bresette, executive director of the Children’s Defense Fund-Texas.²²⁶

179. School segregation still exists in Texas, as more than a million Black and Latino students in the state learn in classrooms with few white peers.²²⁷

180. Unlike many other states, Texas refused efforts by minority legislators to fund outreach efforts to insure a full count of Texans in the 2020 census. As a result, Texas was one of six states that the Census Bureau determined had a statistically significant undercount. The undercount, estimated at 2%, or more than 500,000 people, may well have cost Texas an extra congressional seat.²²⁸ Even though there are no state-by-state estimates of the undercount by race, nationally, Latinos were undercounted by 5%, Blacks by 3.3%, and Native Americans, by 5.6%. Non-Hispanic whites were overcounted by 1.6% and Asian-Americans by 2.6%.²²⁹ The undercount in Texas, which must be considered deliberate, because many other states, such as California, made major efforts to encourage everyone to respond to the census, may have had an effect on redistricting in Texas, likely decreasing the number of minorities counted and denying them claims on further legislative seats.

²²⁶ Karen Brooks Harper, “Medicaid expansion for uninsured Texans had bipartisan support, but lawmakers won’t pass it this session,” *Texas Tribune*, May 7, 2021, <https://www.texastribune.org/2021/05/07/texas-medicaid-expansion-legislature/>.

²²⁷ <https://www.tpr.org/show/the-source/2019-01-02/segregation-still-exists-in-texas-schools>.

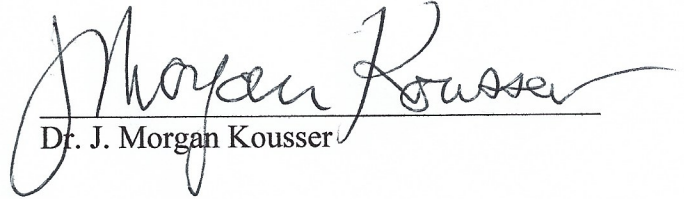
²²⁸ Alexa Ura, “The US. Census estimates it missed more than a half-million Texans during 2020 count/Immigrants, people living in poverty and non-English speakers were among the most likely to be missed, yet the crucial count received lackluster promotion by Texas state government.” *Texas Tribune*, May 19, 2022, https://www.texastribune.org/2022/05/19/census-2020-texas-undercount/?utm_source=Texas+Tribune+Newsletters&utm_campaign=c854ebd501-trib-newsletters-breaking-alert&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_d9a68d8efc-c854ebd501-101201265&mc_cid=c854ebd501&mc_eid=78249492c1; <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2022/05/2020-census-undercount-overcount-rates-by-state.html>.

²²⁹ <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2022/2020-census-estimates-of-undercount-and-overcount.html>.

In preparing this report there was some data that was not yet produced or made readily available by Defendants, and as more data becomes available or new election results are posted, I reserve the right to provide additional data and analysis to supplement the opinions set forth in this report.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true to the best of my personal knowledge.

June 1, 2022


Dr. J. Morgan Kousser

APPENDIX A

CURRICULUM VITAE OF J. MORGAN KOUSSER

GENERAL INFORMATION

Address: 1818 North Craig Avenue
Altadena, California 91101
Telephone: (626) 395-4080 (O); (626) 794-5840 (H); (626) 405-9841 (Fax)
E-Mail: Kousser@HSS.Caltech.Edu
Website: hss.caltech.edu/~kousser/Kousser.html
Place of Birth: Lewisburg, Tennessee

EDUCATION AND HONORS

Ph.D., Yale University, 1971, History
M.Phil., Yale University, 1968, History
M.A., Oxford University, 1984 (honorary)
A.B., Princeton University, 1965 (*summa cum laude*, Phi Beta Kappa), History
Woodrow Wilson Fellow, 1965-66

EMPLOYMENT

California Institute of Technology

Professor of History and Social Science, 2020 - present
Professor of History and Social Science, 1980-2020
Professor of History, 1979-80
Associate Professor of History, 1974-79
Assistant Professor of History, 1971-74
Instructor in History, 1969-71

Visiting and Adjunct Appointments

University of Michigan
Visiting Instructor, summer, 1980
Harvard University
Visiting Professor, fall, 1981
Oxford University
Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American History, 1984-85
Claremont Graduate School
Adjunct Professor of History, 1993
Hong Kong Institute of Science and Technology, 2014

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction (University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

Dead End: The Development of Litigation on Racial Discrimination in Schools in 19th Century America (Fair Lawn, N.J.: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), co-edited with James M. McPherson.

The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910 (Yale University Press, 1974; Paperback, 1976), available online at <http://resolver.caltech.edu/CaltechAUTHORS:20200722-095203042>.

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Jeff Manza and Christopher Uggen, *Locked Out: Felon Disenfranchisement and American Democracy*, and Sasha Abramsky, *Conned: How Millions Went to Prison, Lost the Vote, and Helped Send George W. Bush to the White House*, in *Election Law Journal*, 6 (2007), 104-12.

Peter F. Lau, Editor, *From the Grassroots to the Supreme Court: Brown v. Board of Education and American Democracy*, in *American Historical Review* 111 (2006), 231-32.

Glenn Feldman, *The Disfranchisement Myth: Poor Whites and Suffrage Restriction in Alabama*, in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 37 (2007), 646-47.

John B. Boles and Bethany L. Johnson, eds., *Origins of the New South Fifty Years Later: The Continuing Influence of a Historical Classic*, in *The Historian*, 67 (2005), 307-09.

Charles H. Feinstein and Mark Thomas, *Making History Count: A primer in quantitative methods for historians*, in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35 (2005), 622-23.

John D. Skrentny, *The Minority Rights Revolution*, in *Journal of American History* 90 (2004), 1546-47.

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Miles Fairburn, *Social History: Problems, Strategies and Methods*, in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31 (2000), 247-48.

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Ward M. McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction: The Public School in the Politics of the 1870s*, in *American Historical Review* 104 (1999), 1677-78.

Samuel L. Webb, *Two-Party Politics in the One-Party South: Alabama's Hill Country, 1874-1920*, in *Journal of Economic History*, 59 (1999), 234-35.

Stewart E. Tolnay and E.M. Beck, *A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882-1930*, in *Historical Methods* 31 (1998), 171-75.

Alex Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South* in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28 (1998), 484-85.

Stephen Cresswell, *Multi-Party Politics in Mississippi, 1877-1902*, in *Journal of American History*, 83 (1996), 642-43.

Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan*, in *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 32 (1996), 229-32.

Daniel I. Greenstein, *A Historian's Guide to Computing*, in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 27 (1996), 103-05.

Howard N. Rabinowitz, *Race, Ethnicity and Urbanization*, in *Slavery and Abolition* 16 (1995), 267-69.

Michael C. Dawson, *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*, in *North Carolina Historical Review* 72 (1995), 376-77.

James Goodman, *Stories of Scottsboro*, in *Princeton Alumni Weekly* 95, #9 (Feb. 8, 1995), 20-21.

Robert R. Dykstra, *Bright Radical Star: Black Freedom and White Supremacy on the Hawkeye Frontier*, in *Reviews in American History*, 22 (1994), 442-48.

Robert C. McMath, Jr., *American Populism: A Social History, 1877-1898*, in *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 77 (1993), 634-36.

Michael F. Holt, *Political Parties and American Political Development from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln*, in *Reviews in American History* 21 (1993), 207-12.

William Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915*, in *Slavery & Abolition* 13 (1992), 239-41.

Loren Haskins and Kirk Jeffrey, *Understanding Quantitative History*, and Konrad H. Jarausch and Kenneth A. Hardy, *Quantitative Methods for Historians*, in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23 (1992), 139-40.

Donald G. Nieman, *Promises to Keep: African-Americans and the Constitutional Order, 1776 to the Present*, in *Journal of Southern History* 58 (1992), 704-05.

William E. Nelson, *The Fourteenth Amendment: From Political Principle to Judicial Doctrine*, in *Slavery and Abolition* 11 (1990), 414-16.

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Richard L. McCormick, *The Party Period and Public Policy*, in *Journal of American History*, 74 (1987), 169-70.

Gail Williams O'Brien, *The Legal Fraternity and The Making of a New South Community, 1843-1882*, in *North Carolina Historical Review*, 64 (1987), 219-20.

Theodore M. Porter, *The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820-1900*; Stephen M. Stigler, *The History of Statistics: The Measurement of Uncertainty Before 1900*, in *Wilson Quarterly*, XI (Spring 1987) 2, 161-62.

C. Vann Woodward, *Thinking Back: The Perils of Writing History*, in *Journal of Economic History*, 48 (June 1987), 591-92.

Dan T. Carter, *When The War Was Over: The Failure of Self-Reconstruction in the South, 1865-1867*; Ted Tunnell, *Crucible of Reconstruction: War, Radicalism, and Race in Louisiana, 1862-1877*, in *Slavery and Abolition*, 7 (1986), 290-98.

Olivier Zunz, ed., *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of Social History*, in *Reviews in American History*, 14 (1986), 342-47.

Robert F. Durden, *The Self-Inflicted Wound: Southern Politics in the 19th Century*, in *Journal of American History*, 73 (1986), 189-90.

Alexander M. Bickel and Benno C. Schmidt, Jr., *History of the Supreme Court*, Vol. X, in *Journal of Southern History*, 52 (1986), 479-81.

Eric Foner, *Nothing But Freedom*, in *Slavery and Abolition*, 7 (1986), 77-79.

Alexander P. Lamis, *A Two-Party South*, in *Times Literary Supplement* (October 10, 1985).

- Steven F. Lawson, *In Pursuit of Power*, in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 69 (1985), 441-43.
- David B. Davis, *Progress and Human Slavery*, in *Times Literary Supplement* (February 1, 1985), 123-24.
- Michael Perman, *The Road to Redemption: Southern Politics, 1869-1879*, in *Political Science Quarterly*, 100 (1985), 350-51.
- Catherine A. Barnes, *Journey From Jim Crow: The Desegregation of Southern Transit*, in *Constitutional Commentary*, 2 (1984), 197-202.
- Raymond Arsenault, *The Wild Ass of the Ozarks: Jeff Davis and the Social Bases of Southern Politics*, in *American Historical Review*, 90 (1985), 228-29.
- Walter J. Fraser, Jr. and Winfred B. Moore, Jr., *The Southern Enigma: Essays on Race, Class, and Folk Culture*, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 92 (1984), 475-76.
- Stephen Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism*, in *American Historical Review*, 89 (1984), 854-55.
- Paul Kleppner, *Who Voted?* and W. Dean Burnham, *The Current Crisis in American Politics*, in *Social Science History*, 9 (1985), 215-28.
- Patricia C. Cohen, *A Calculating People: The Spread of Numeracy in Early America*, in *American Historical Review*, 89 (1984), 203-04.
- John W. Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy*, in *Journal of American History*, 70 (September 1983), 424-25.
- David L. Kirp, *Just Schools: The Idea of Racial Equality in American Education*, in *The Public Historian*, 5, #3 (1983), 119-22.
- Anthony P. Dunbar, *Against the Grain: Southern Radicals and Prophets 1929-1959*, in *Business History Review*, 54 (1982), 608-09.
- Jody Carlson, *George C. Wallace and the Politics of Powerlessness*, in *American Historical Review*, 87 (1982), 884.
- Eric Anderson, *Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872-1901: The Black Second*, in *Journal of Southern History*, 48 (1982), 123-25.
- William Gillette, *Retreat From Reconstruction, 1869-1879*, in *Register of the Kentucky Historical*

Society, 79 (1981), 191-94; and 80 (1982), 214-16.

Bruce A. Campbell and Richard J. Trilling, eds., *Realignment in American Politics*, in *Reviews in American History*, 9 (1981), 23-28.

Paul Kleppner, *The Third Electoral Era*, in *Journal of American History* (December 1979), 670-71.

Jonathan M. Wiener, *Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1865-1885* in *American Historical Review* (December 1979), 1482-83.

Joel Silbey et al., *The History of American Electoral Behavior* in *Reviews in American History*, 7 (1979), 157-62.

Jack Bass and Walter DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, in *American Historical Review* (December 1978), 1368-69.

Michael P. Johnson, *Toward a Patriarchal Republic: The Secession of Georgia* in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 9 (Autumn 1978), 374-76.

Michael Schwartz, *Radical Protest and Social Structure: The Southern Farmers' Alliance and Cotton Tenancy, 1880-1890*, in *Journal of American History* (December 1977), 811-812.

Hugh D. Graham and Numan V. Bartley, *Southern Politics and the Second Reconstruction*, in *American Historical Review* 82 (1977), 217.

Lawrence Grossman, *The Democratic Party and The Negro: Northern and National Politics, 1868-92*, in *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 4 (1977), 114-117.

John Shelton Reed, *The Enduring South*, in *Red River Valley Historical Review*, 4 (1979), 98-99.

Louis Galambos, *The Public Image of Big Business in America, 1880-1940* in *Journal of American History* (September 1975), 437-38.

Monroe Lee Billington, *The Political South in the Twentieth Century*, in *Political Science Quarterly*, 90 (1975), 561-562.

Roger L. Hart, *Redeemers, Bourbons, and Populists: Tennessee, 1870-1896*, in *Journal of American History* (March 1976), 1005-06.

James B. Murphy, L.Q.C. Lamar: Pragmatic Patriot, in *Mississippi Quarterly*, 27 (1974-75), 109-114.

Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jensen, *Historian's Guide to Statistics: Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research*, in *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 67 (1972), 493.

Unpublished Works

"Tennessee Politics and The Negro, 1948-1964" (A.B. thesis, Princeton University, 1965).

POST-DOCTORAL GRANTS AND AWARDS

National Endowment for the Humanities Grant #R-9980-140, "Political Outputs in the South: Who Got What, When, Where, and Why?" January 1, 1974--May 31, 1975, \$23,641.

Graves Foundation Award, Summer, 1976

Howard Foundation Fellowship, 1979-80

National Endowment for the Humanities Grant #RO-20225-82, 1981-83, "Separate But Not Equal: A Social History of School Racial Discrimination Law in the Nineteenth Century," \$74,860.

Guggenheim Fellowship, 1985-86

Woodrow Wilson Center Fellowship, 1985-86

Haynes Foundation Grant, 1989-90

Lillian Smith Award, Southern Regional Council, 1999 (co-winner)

Ralph J. Bunche Award, American Political Science Assn., 2000 (co-winner)

Richard P. Feynman Prize for Excellence in Teaching, Caltech, 2011

Associated Students of Caltech Teaching Award, 1988-89, 2012-13

TEACHING

Undergraduate

U.S. History, Colonial - Present (many courses)
Why Were We in Vietnam?

Nuclear Weapons Policy and Star Wars
The Supreme Court
Race Relations in History and Social Science

Graduate

American Electoral Behavior
American Political Development
Race Relations in U.S. History
Social Science History
Topics in Econometrics
Writing for Social Scientists

Ph.D. Theses Directed

Gary W. Cox, "Party and Constituency in Victorian Britain" (1982)

Shawn Everett Kantor, "Politics and Property Rights: The Closing of the Open Range in the Postbellum South" (1991)

Micah Altman, "Districting Principles and Democratic Representation" (1998)

PAPERS AND LECTURES

Popular Writings

"Voting Rights: Yes ___ No ___ Maybe ___ Obstructionists Threaten to Undo 16 Years of Effort," *Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 1982.

"Jim Crow in the Voting Booth," *Los Angeles Times*, June 24, 1984.

"The District that Stretched Almost Anywhere but East," *Los Angeles Times*, June 12, 1990.

"The Open Primary Will Ruin California Politics," *Public Affairs Report*, May 1996, 7.

"Charges of bias way off target," *Sacramento Bee*, Oct. 9, 1998, B9.

"How the Supreme Court Feeds a Rumor," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 10, 1999, M2.

"Revamping the Doctrine of Separate and Equal," *Los Angeles Times*, March 26, 2000, M2.

Remarks at Lillian Smith Award Ceremony, *Southern Changes* 21, #4, Winter 1999, 8-11.

“The Duties of Historians,” debate on review of *Colorblind Injustice*, H-POL.

“The Supreme Court and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction,” *National Forum*, 80, # 2, Spring 2000, 25-31.

“Proposition 77: How It Would Really Work,” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, Oct. 31, 2005, p. B7.

“Are We Better Off Redistricting by Citizen Panel?” *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 13, 2011.

“The Strong Case for Keeping Section 5,” *Reuters*, Feb. 15, 2003, <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2013/02/15/the-strong-case-for-keeping-section-5/>.

“Gutting the Landmark Civil Rights Legislation,” *Reuters*, June 26, 2013, <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2013/06/26/gutting-the-landmark-civil-rights-legislation/>.

INVITED LECTURES

Universities (American)

University of Pennsylvania (1976)
California State University at Los Angeles (1977)
Harvard University (1978)
Duke University Law School (1979)
Michigan State University (1980)
University of California, Santa Barbara (1980, 1984)
University of Chicago (1980, 1984)
University of Michigan (1980)
University of California, Irvine (1981)
University of Alabama at Birmingham (1981)
Brandeis University (1981)
California State University, Fullerton (1982)
University of California, Los Angeles (1981, 1983, 1988, 1993)
University of Miami (1983)
Claremont-McKenna College (1984)
University of Maryland, College Park (1985)
University of Maryland, Baltimore County (1985)
New School for Social Research (1986)
University of Dayton (1986)
Ohio State University (1987)
Albany Law School (1988)

University of Texas, Austin (1988)
Stanford University (1990, 1999, 2016)
Univ. of CA, Berkeley (1991, 1999, 2020)
Univ. of CA, San Diego (1991, 2000, 2016)
Claremont Graduate School (1993)
Northwestern University Law School (1993)
Rutgers Law School, Camden (1993)
Georgetown Law Center (1994)
C. Vann Woodward Lecture, Henderson State College (1994)
Yale University (1994)
American U. Law School (1994)
Univ. of Michigan Law School (1996, 1998)
Univ. of Southern California Law School (1996, 2018, 2020)
Univ. of CA, Los Angeles School of Law (1994, 1996, 1999)
CA State Univ., San Bernardino (1999)
Harvard Univ., Du Bois Center (1999, 2000, 2001)
Augusta State University (1999)
Paine College (1999)
University of Kansas (2015)
University of LaVerne (2000)
University of Montana (2004)
University of Texas, Austin, Law School (2004)
University of Texas, San Antonio (2004, 2005)
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Law School (2006)
University of Texas, Austin (2006)
Duke University (2006)
Whittier Law School (2006)
Indiana University School of Law (2009)
U.C.L.A. School of Law (2010)
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (2014)
Kansas University (2015)
Caltech (2016, 2020)
University of California at San Francisco (2020)

Universities (English)

Oxford University (1984, 1985)
Cambridge University (1984, 2009)
University of Leeds (1985)
University of East Anglia (1985)
East Anglia University (1985)
Southampton University (1985)

Warwick (1985)
Sussex, Keele (1985)

CONVENTIONS

Papers Delivered

American Historical Association (1974, 1976, 1988, 2015, 2017)

Social Science History Association (1976, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1987,
1989, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000, 2004)

Southern Historical Association (1978, 1980, 1992, 2005, 2012)

Organization of American Historians (1981, 1984, 1986, 1990)

International Conference on Quantitative History (1982)

Association of American Law Schools (1983)

Joint Center for Political Studies Forum on Run-Off Primaries (1984)

16th International Congress of Historical Sciences, Stuttgart, Germany (1985)

Brookings Institution Conference on the 25th Anniversary of the Voting
Rights Act (1990)

Continuing Legal Education Conference, Los Angeles (1990)

Voting Rights Symposium, University of San Francisco Law School (1992)

California Studies Association Convention (1994)

Midwest Political Science Association (1997, 2004)

USC/Caltech Conference, "Election Reform: 2000 and Beyond" (2001)

NAACP/MALDEF/APLAC Conference, "Making Our Communities Count: United for a Fair
Redistricting Process" (2001)

AALS/APSA Conference on Constitutional Law (2002)

“The Future of the Voting Rights Act” (Columbia University Law School, 2003)

American Society of Legal History (2003)

American Political Science Association (2004, 2018)

“Who Draws the Lines: The Consequences of Redistricting Reform for Minority Voters”
(University of North Carolina, 2006)

“Whither the Voting Rights Act? Agreements and Contestations in the Debate over its Renewal”
(Duke University, 2006)

Southern Political Science Association (2017)

AALS (2018)

Discussant on Convention Panels

American Historical Association (1983, 1989)

American Political Science Association (1977, 1988, 1989, 1995, 2000, 2007)

Pomona College Conference on Voting Rights (1983)

California Institute of Technology Conference on Political Institutions (1984)

Organization of American Historians (1988, 2002)

Conference on The Future of African-American State Universities (1990)

UCLA Conference on American Politics in Historical Perspective (1990)

Federal Judicial Center, Conference on Civil Rights Act of 1964 (1994)

American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch (1996)

Southern Historical Association (1997, 2000, 2002)

Social Science History Assn. (1998, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2011)

Southern Sociological Society (1999, 2007)

Western Political Science Assn. (2001, 2002, 2004)

The Historical Society (2010)

Other

Rand Corporation (1978)

Town Hall of Los Angeles (1979)

Severance Club of Los Angeles (1979)

NAACP Legal Defense Fund Conference on Voting Rights, New Orleans (1982)

Constitutional Rights Foundation of L.A. (1990)

Caltech, Martin Luther King Day Speaker (1990, 1992, 1999, 2010)

All Saints Church Issues Forum (1992)

Church of the Good Shepherd Issues Forum (1995)
Pasadena Jewish Temple (1996)
The Field Institute, San Francisco (1997)
“Beyond 2007: Voting Rights in the 20th Century,” (Washington D.C., 1997)
Augusta-Richmond County Museum (1999)
Princeton University Reunion Forum, “Fifty Years of the Voting Rights Act” (2015)
Pasadena-Foothills Democratic Club (2016)
Pasadena Playhouse (2017)
Pasadena NAACP (2017)
MonteCedro Senior Living Community (2018)
League of Women Voters, Pasadena Area (2021), available at
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ot4cm4FR74>

ORGANIZATIONS AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Committees

Chairman, Methodology Network, Social Science History Association, 1976-80
Program Committee, Social Science History Assn., 1981, 1983
Membership Committee, Southern Historical Association, 1976-77, 1983, 1991-92
American Historical Association Committee on Quantitative Methods, 1983-86
Anglo-American Historical Committee, 1984-85
Committee on Harmsworth Professorship, American Historical Assn., 1985-88
Executive Committee, Social Science History Assn., 1989-1993

Editorial Boards

Journal of American History, 1977-1980
Historical Methods, 1983-86
Social Science History, 1987-92
Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 1989-
Co-Editor, *Historical Methods*, 2000-05
Editor, *Historical Methods*, 2005-13

EXPERT WITNESS TESTIMONY

Hunter v. Underwood, 471 U.S. 222 (1985).
Mobile v. Bolden, 542 F. Supp. 1050 (S.D. Ala. 1982).
Moore v. Brown, 542 F. Supp. 1078 (S.D. Ala. 1982).

United States v. Dallas County Commission, 548 F. Supp. 875 (S.D. Ala. 1981).

Taylor v. Haywood County, Tenn. Commission, 544 F. Supp. 1122 (W.D. Tenn. 1982).

Sumter County Council v. U.S., 444 F. Supp. 694 (D.D.C. 1983).

Brown v. Board of Commissioners of the City of Chattanooga, Tenn. 722 F. Supp. 380 (E.D. Tenn. 1989).

Garza v. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, 756 F. Supp. 1298 (C.D. Cal. 1990), *aff'd*, 918 F.2d 763 (9th Cir. 1990), *cert. denied*, 111 S. Ct. 681 (1991).

Brooks v. Harris (N.D. GA., Civ. Action No. 1: 90-CV-1001-RCF, July 1990), preliminary injunction refused to plaintiffs.

U.S. v. City of Memphis (W.D. Tenn. 1991), further proceeding *sub nom. Muhammad v. City of Memphis*, 1995 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 22538 (W.D. Tenn. 1995).

Gonzales v. Monterey County, Cal., 808 F. Supp. 727 (N.D. Cal. 1992).

Members of the California Democratic Congressional Delegation v. Eu, summary judgment granted to defendants.

DeBaca v. San Diego County Board of Supervisors (S.D. Cal., Civ. No. 91-1282-R(M), May 11, 1992), summary judgment granted to defendants.

Cousin v. McWherter (E.D. Tenn., 1993), 904 F. Supp. 686 (E.D. Tenn. 1995).

Rural West Tennessee African-American Affairs Council v. McWherter 836 F.Supp. 453 (W.D. Tenn. 1993), *vacated*, 512 U.S. 1248 (1994).

Shaw v. Hunt, 861 F.Supp. 408 (E.D. N.C. 1994).

Vera v. Richards, 861 F.Supp. 1304 (S.D. Tex. 1994).

Georgia v. Reno, 881 F.Supp. 7 (D.D.C. 1995).

Lopez v. Monterey County, 871 F. Supp. 1254 (N.D. Cal. 1994), *order clarified* (Jan. 10, 1995).

In Re 2001 Redistricting Cases v. Redistricting Board (Alaska, 2002).

Cano v. Davis, 191 F.Supp. 2d 1135 (C.D. Cal. 2002)

Sessions v. Perry, 298 F. Supp. 2d 451 (E.D. Tex. 2004), *vacated sub nom. Henderson v. Perry*, 543 U.S. 941 (2004), *and vacated sub nom. Jackson v. Perry*, 543 U.S. 941 (2004), *and vacated sub nom. Am. GI Forum of Texas v. Perry*, 543 U.S. 941 (2004), *and vacated sub nom. Lee v. Perry*, 543 U.S. 941 (2004), *and vacated sub nom. Travis Cty., Tex. v. Perry*, 543 U.S. 941 (2004).

Farrahkan v. Locke, (Federal District Court, Washington State, D.C. No. CV-96-0076-RHW (2005); reversed by 9th Cir. Ct. of Appeals, No. 06-35669 (Jan. 5, 2010)).

U.S. v. Osceola County, FL, 475 F.Supp. 2d 1220 (2006), later proceedings at 474 F. Supp. 2d 1254 (2006).

American Civil Rights Foundation v. Los Angeles Unified School District (Los Angeles County Super. Ct. No. BC341363) summary judgment granted to defendants and affirmed by Court of Appeal, Second Appellate District, Division 5, in B205943.

Sanchez v. City of Modesto, 145 Cal.App. 4th 660 (2006) (App. 5 Dist. Cal. 2007), cert. denied, 552 U.S. 974 (2007), settled before trial.

Gomez v. Hanford Joint Union School District, No. 04C0294 (Kings Co. Super. Ct.), settled before trial.

Avitia v. Tulare County Local Healthcare District (07-224773, Sup. Ct. Tulare County), settled before trial.

Gonzalez v. City of Compton, CA. (Case No. BC 450494, Superior Court, Los Angeles County), settled before trial.

Perez v. Perry, 835 F. Supp. 2d 209 (W.D. Tex., San Antonio Div. 2012), *sub nom. Vesey v. Perry*, 71 F. Supp. 3d 627 (S.D. Tex. 2014), *stay granted* 769 F.3d 890 (5th Cir. 2014), *vacatur denied*, 135 S.Ct. 9 (2014), further proceedings *sub nom. Perez v. Abbott*, 250 F.Supp.3d 123 (W.D. Tex., San Antonio Div., 2017).

Texas v. U.S., (C.A. No. 1:11-cv-01303, D.D.C.), decided Aug. 28, 2012, 887 F.Supp. 2d 133 (D.D.C. 2012), *vacated and remanded on other grounds*, 133 S. Ct. 2885 (2013).

Texas v. Holder, (C.A. No. 1:12-cv-00128-RMC-DST-RLW, D.D.C.), 888 F. Supp. 2d 113 (D.D.C. 2012), decided Aug. 30, 2012.

Jauregui v. City of Palmdale, California (Case No. BC483039), decided July 23, 2013.

Soliz v. City of Santa Clarita (LASC Case No. BC512735), settled before trial.

Soliz v. Santa Clarita Community College District (LASC Case No. BC512736), settled before trial.

Banales v. City of Santa Barbara (Case No. 1468167, Superior Court, Santa Barbara County), settled before trial, 2014.

League of Women Voters v. McCrory (Case No. 1:13CV658, M.D. N.C., decided as *N.C. State Conf. of the NAACP v. McCrory*, 2016 WL 1650774 (M.D.N.C. Apr. 25, 2016), rev'd 831 F.3d 204 (4th Cir. 2016), *cert. denied, sub nom. N.C. v. N.C. State Conf. of the NAACP*, 2017 U.S. LEXIS 2947 (U.S., May 15, 2017).

Georgia State Conference of the NAACP v. Fayette County [Georgia] Board of Commissioners (CA No. 3:11-CV-123-TCB), settled before trial, 2015.

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Jones v. De Santis, Case No. Case No. 4:19cv300-RH/MJF, 462 F. Supp. 3d 1196 (N.D. Fla. 2020), rev'd sub nom. *Jones v. Governor of Fla.*, 974 F.3d 1016 (11th Cir. 2020).

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League of Women Voters v. Lee, 2022 WL 969538 (N.D. Fla. 2022).

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City of West Sacramento

CURRENT RESEARCH

Separate But Not Equal: The Cumming Case and Race Relations in America (University of Kansas Press, under contract).

“The Supremacy of Equal Rights”: School Desegregation in Nineteenth Century America (Cambridge University Press, under contract), a collection of three of my revised essays.

“The Onward March of Right Principles”: School Segregation and Race Relations in the 19th Century United States (book) is an investigation of late nineteenth century state and federal court cases and the adoption of state laws on racial discrimination in schools in 22 states. The purposes are to throw new light upon black political power and the black social structure; to discover the identities and motivations of white supporters and opponents of black civil rights; to illuminate the murky history of the lower courts; and to integrate legislative and judicial history into a broader socio-political history.

The Democracy Cycle: How Voter Suppression Has Followed Voter Expansion and What We Can Do About It.

February 2022

APPENDIX B

1. Tarrant

- a. A teacher in the Fort Worth School District, Fort Worth ISD, was seen on camera endorsing a student's use of the N Word during a presentation and allowing students to continue to use the slur nine times.
 - i. <https://www.keranews.org/education/2022-04-29/black-leaders-call-for-reforms-in-fort-worth-isd-after-officials-launch-investigation-into-video>
- b. Former Fort Worth Police Officer Aaron Dean shot and killed Atatiana Jefferson in her home during a late-night welfare check.
 - i. <https://fortworthreport.org/2021/11/16/lip-service-or-solutions-in-fort-worth-as-aaron-dean-gets-new-trial-date-civic-leaders-drive-dialogue-on-race-police/>
- c. Fort Worth zoning change near an elementary school in southeast Fort Worth, that serves a student body that is 62.6% Hispanic and 29.1% African American, would place an industrial area right next to the school.
 - i. <https://fortworthreport.org/2022/05/12/were-going-to-suffer-the-consequences-southeast-fort-worth-residents-fight-industrial-facility-near-elementary-school/>
- d. In the Census tract where Brooks lives, which includes the Morningside and Hillside neighborhoods, 5.97% of homes are substandard, according to the Census Bureau's survey. The population is 34% Black and 63% Hispanic. Another tract with a rate of 4.51% substandard homes is near the southwest side of the intersection of East Lancaster Avenue and 820, where 49% of the population is Black and 46% is Hispanic, according to Census data.
 - i. <https://www.star-telegram.com/news/local/crossroads-lab/article257229347.html#storylink=cpy>
- e. Tim O'Hare, the republican nominee for Tarrant County Judge, during his primary campaign used racial appeals and racial dog whistles about CRT and Black Lives Matter.
 - i. <https://fwtx.com/news/tarrant-county-judge-glen-whitley-says-he-won-t-support-tim-/>

2. Dallas

- a. Shelly Luther, a Republican Candidate for the Dallas-area state House Seat, wrote in a recently deleted tweet "Chinese students should be BANNED from attending all Texas Universities." In a follow-up tweet that is still online, Luther said the state's taxpayers "should not be subsidizing the next generation of CCP leaders," referring to the Chinese Communist Party.
 - i. <https://www.cbs19.tv/article/news/local/shelley-luther-gop-candidate-said-chinese-students-should-be-banned-from-texas-universities/501-c81d69e9-9c76-4365-8236-db05608247a0>

- ii. <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/politics/texas/article/Houston-lawmakers-from-both-parties-decry-16764682.php>
- b. The residents of Choate Road in southeast Dallas, a predominantly Black and Latino agricultural community, have seen the rise of Shingle Mountain, a more than 700,000-ton toxic illegal waste dump. The toxic dump has affected the health of many residents such as constant nose bleeds, headaches/migraines, and difficulty breathing.
 - i. <https://www.texastribune.org/2020/12/09/southeast-dallas-shingle-mountain-environmental-racism/>
- c. On June 8, 2019, Karla Garcia ran against Camille White in the General runoff election for the Dallas ISD Board District 4 Trustee and won 59.2% (1,152) of the votes making her the board's youngest and first Latina member. Garcia had previously ran against White and other fellow candidates, Omar Jimenez and Amalia Lozano, for District 4 Trustee during the General election held on May 4, 2019, where she won 44.2% (1,093) of the votes.
 - i. https://ballotpedia.org/Karla_Garcia
 - ii. <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/education/2019/12/30/meet-karla-garcia-the-dallas-isd-boards-youngest-member-and-first-latina/>
- d. U.S. Representative Colin Allred accused his opponent Republican Genevieve Collins, of digitally darkening his skin in campaign mailers. Allred expressed in a virtual debate held on Sunday, October 18, 2020, that Collins was using scare tactics throughout her bid for Texas' 32nd Congressional District, which includes Dallas County.
 - i. <https://www.dallasobserver.com/news/allred-accuses-republican-opponent-of-darkening-his-skin-color-in-campaign-mailers-11956745>
- e. Mesquite, a city located in the eastern region of Dallas County, elected Daniel Aleman on November 2, 2021, as mayor. Aleman with 59% (3,969) of the votes defeated his opponent Ron Ward, who amassed 2,766 of the votes, for the open seat left by Mayor Bruce Archer. Aleman, a third-generation Mexican-American, is the first person of color to serve as mayor, which is Mesquite's highest office. If Ward won the election, he also would have made history as the city's first Black mayor. Prior to his appointment as Mayor, Aleman was a pastor and District 6 council member.
 - i. <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/elections/2021/11/02/mesquite-will-elect-its-first-mayor-of-color-tuesday-read-here-for-election-updates/>
 - ii. <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2021/11/05/i-bring-god-into-everything-meet-mesquites-first-latino-mayor-daniel-aleman/>
 - iii. <https://www.nbcdfw.com/news/local/mesquite-makes-history-electing-first-hispanic-mayor/2801568/>

3. Harris

- a. A U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development investigation found that Texas General Land Office “discriminated on the basis of race and national origin” when deciding how to distribute \$2 billion in federal funds for disaster mitigation. GLO’s plan gave Houston and Harris County \$0 despite the region being one of the hardest hit by Hurricane Harvey.
<https://abc13.com/hurricane-harvey-flood-aid-harris-county-houston/11632878/>
<https://www.houstonchronicle.com/politics/texas/article/Feds-say-GLO-discriminated-against-minorities-16986049.php>
 - b. An Election Day poll worker was relieved of her duties and charged with misdemeanor criminal assault. Barnes, who is white, then told Anthony, who is black, “Maybe if I’d worn my blackface makeup today you could comprehend what I’m saying to you.” When Anthony later told the election judge she was going to call police, Barnes walked up again and bumped her with her shoulder.
<https://www.chron.com/politics/election/article/Poll-worker-directs-racist-language-at-a-north-13367024.php>
 - c. In drafting SB 7, Senate Republicans made clear some of its proposed restrictions are meant as a response to voting initiatives implemented by Harris County for the 2020 election, but the proposed new restrictions would apply across the state. It includes regulating hours, banning drive-thru voting, regulating the distribution of polling places in urban areas, requiring paper trails for voting, setting new rules for voting by mail etc. Most of these changes counteract efforts done by Harris County to try and make voting easier.
<https://www.texastribune.org/2021/04/21/texas-voting-restrictions-senate-bill-7/>
 - d. Harris County Judge Lina Hidalgo had been speaking in English and Spanish about the fire that broke out at a storage facility in the Houston area. Mark Tice, a Chambers County commissioner, posted a comment, saying, “She is a joke.” “English,” Tice added, “this is not Mexico.” Tice later confirmed that he made the comment, saying, “It’s real simple. This is the United States. Speak English.”
<https://www.texastribune.org/2019/03/27/texas-official-criticizes-judge-spanish/>
 - e. Harris County's election administrator says the rejections -- and confusion among voters -- are a direct result of the controversial SB 1 voting bill. So far this year in Harris County, 16% of the 1,276 applications have been rejected. In the 2018 Texas primary, only 2.5 percent of 4,800 applications were rejected.
<https://www.kcentv.com/article/news/politics/texas-counties-increase-rejected-mail-in-ballot-applications/285-8746be6e-0d32-4f18-8802-08c3394fa6be>
4. Bell
 - a. Approximately 412 mail-in ballots in Bell County were rejected during the primary elections. The verification number is a new requirement under SB1,

which confused a lot of voters and was a primary reason for so many ballots getting rejected in Bell County. The new mail-in ballot application form says voters “must provide one of” the two ID numbers. It’s language that local voting rights activists like Irene Andrews say is intentionally creating confusion and disenfranchising voters. Also, the county had been without an election administrator since September 2020.

<https://www.kwtx.com/2022/03/23/more-than-400-mail-in-ballots-rejected-during-primary-elections-bell-county/>

- b. A group of residents is calling for a change they say should have happened years ago and once again demanding the removal of the confederate monument on the grounds of the Bell County Courthouse. Earlier this week, removal was brought up by Precinct 4 County Commissioner John Driver, but voted down.
<https://www.kwtx.com/2022/04/29/group-protestors-gather-making-more-calls-confederate-monument-go/>
<https://www.kcentv.com/article/news/local/belton-group-calls-for-removal-of-confederate-statue-in-front-of-bell-county-courthouse/500-221de60c-e1f4-4d72-916d-90f849871d4d>
 - c. Flyers bearing the name of the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were anonymously circulated Sunday through two Killeen neighborhoods. While one of the flyers advises residents to fight drug addiction, a second flyer laments “cultural genocide” of white Americans.
https://kdhnews.com/news/local/kkk-fliers-circulated-through-killeen-neighborhoods/article_e7b977f2-9c7d-11e7-886e-ab0c0b49b734.html
 - d. Desi Roberts was appointed Bell County’s new elections administrator. It has been close to one-and-a-half years since someone was solely in charge of elections in one of Central Texas’ most heavily populated counties. His official start date is June 1, so he will not be in charge during Tuesday’s runoff election. However, he intends to shadow as work goes on that Tuesday night.
<https://www.kwtx.com/2022/05/18/bell-county-has-an-elections-administrator-first-time-since-2020/>
 - e. Killeen Mayor Pro Tem Debbie Nash-King was sworn in as the first Black female mayor in the city’s 140-year history. Nash-King succeeded former Mayor Jose Segarra, who was term limited after serving three consecutive terms as mayor.
https://kdhnews.com/news/local/nash-king-makes-history-as-killeen-s-first-black-female-mayor/article_5b4c3e1a-ac88-11ec-94e9-53ed8fb2fc6b.html
5. El Paso
- a. Border Network for Human Rights, along with 14 local organizations, are launching a community petition calling for El Paso City Council to give a vote of no confidence to Police Chief Greg Allen, asking for his resignation, demanding accountability and immediate changes to the El Paso Police Department (EPPD).

The 2015 killing of Erik Salas-Sanchez at the hands of a police officer has still gone unpunished.

<https://bnhr.org/bnhr-coalition-of-organizations-calls-for-el-paso-city-officials-to-demand-police-chief-gregg-allens-resignation-and-immediately-implement-changes-in-eppd/>

<https://www.elpasotimes.com/story/news/crime/2019/06/19/family-man-erik-emmanuel-salas-sanchez-killed-by-el-paso-police-responds-motion-throw-out-lawsuit/1500429001/>

- b. The government was separating migrant parents from their kids for months prior to the official introduction of zero tolerance, running what a U.S. official called a "pilot program" for widespread prosecutions in Texas, but apparently did not create a clear system for parents to track or reunite with their kids. The numbers show the government was separating migrant kids from their parents prior to the zero tolerance policy implemented in May. DHS declined to provide month-by-month figures, did not provide data prior to October 2016 and did not supply any numbers for March and April 2018.
<https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/immigration-border-crisis/trump-admin-ran-pilot-program-separating-migrant-families-2017-n887616>
- c. New Texas voting law disenfranchised some of El Paso's longest-tenured voters. El Paso County had 20 rejected Democratic mail-in ballots for each rejected Republican vote. About 75% of these voters identified themselves as Hispanic and 57% were women.
<https://elpasomatters.org/2022/03/28/new-texas-voting-law-disenfranchised-some-of-el-pasos-longest-tenured-voters/>
- d. This article explores some of the ways that white supremacist ideology has impacted El Paso throughout the past century. Voting to rename Robert E. Lee Elementary has re-opened previous conversations about the appropriateness of having schools named for slave owners, Confederates and colonizers. Also talks about the Ku Klux Klan's impact on El Paso.
<https://elpasomatters.org/2020/07/29/racism-scarred-el-paso-long-before-aug-3-2019/>
- e. LULAC issued a statement demanding that the Texas Education Agency and Socorro Independent School District permanently ban the substitute teacher who told a male Hispanic student: "Speak English, we're in America." The incident was caught on camera.
https://lulac.org/news/pr/LULAC_Demands_Texas_Substitute_Teacher_Be_Permanently_Disqualified_From_Instructing_Students_Following_Racists_Remarks/
- f. The Familias Unidas Por La Educación is suing the El Paso Independent School District claiming that district have "systemic discrimination against poor, Hispanic, and Mexican-American students." It alleges that the district is closing

the schools in one of the poorest neighborhoods and not giving the school funds, “but instead dedicated those funds to schools in other, whiter neighborhoods,” the lawsuit states.

- i. <https://www.elpasotimes.com/story/news/crime/2020/06/18/parents-community-activist-claim-episd-discriminated-against-hispanics-spanish-speaking-student/3209749001/>
- ii. <https://www.elpasotimes.com/story/news/education/2020/06/16/lawsuit-episd-beall-burleson-school-closures-discrimination-against-poor-hispanic/3199874001/>
- g. Don Huffines released his first political ad, and Huffines’ stance could not be uglier or more dangerous. In the ad, Huffines references an “illegal invasion of Texas” — the exact same racist, hateful, anti-immigrant rhetoric behind the 2019 El Paso massacre.
 - i. <https://texasdemocrats.org/media/breaking-abbott-challenger-huffines-new-political-ad-uses-exact-same-racist-rhetoric-that-drove-el-paso-massacre/>
 - ii. <https://ne-np.facebook.com/Donhuffinestx/videos/stop-the-invasion-no-excuses/567809271122723/> (political ad)
- h. More than 20 people were killed in an Aug. 3, 2019, shooting rampage at a Walmart in El Paso. The words in the manifesto were rooted in white supremacy ideology and talked about an “invasion” of Texas. The gunman attacked people based on the color of their skin — and on a false sense of who is American.
 - i. <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/08/05/hispanics-terrorized-after-el-paso-shooting-and-racist-manifesto/>

6. Hays

- a. San Marcos CISD audit reveals that most students who witness or experience racism do not report incidents due to not having a trusted adult and not knowing reporting procedures. <https://www.kxan.com/news/local/hays/san-marcos-cisd-audit-racism-not-being-reported-drop-outs-trending-upward/>
- b. Historical segregation led to Black residents being forced to live in a flood plain (environmental racism). Frequent flooding persists as a challenge for development and property values. The city manager has ignored calls to provide provisions. <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0760/9/10/177/pdf>
- c. Eight self-described white nationalists were caught posting hate speech on Texas State’s campus but received no charges. <https://www.statesman.com/story/news/local/2018/04/08/white-supremacists-warned-with-criminal-trespass-after-posting-racist-flyers-texas-state-police-say/10411116007/>

- d. After the Human Services Advisory Board (HSAB) had approved \$20,000 to go to a Baptist Church that served Black residents, the San Marcos city council decided to take away that money for no reason. The HSAB sent an email saying that the city council unfairly targeted this church in a racist manner. <https://smcorridornews.com/san-marcos-city-council-agrees-with-human-services-grant-funding-looks-elsewhere-for-nonprofit-pals/>
- e. Texas State administrator called BLM activists “a bunch of monkeys” and threatened to spread COVID at event. <https://www.ksat.com/news/local/2020/06/10/texas-state-university-fires-employee-who-called-black-lives-matter-protesters-a-bunch-of-monkeys/>
- f. Lawsuit filed against San Marcos’ director of public safety, and the San Marcos City Marshal’s Department for turning a blind eye when MAGA people were harassing Biden’s campaign bus. The lawsuit claims that the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 was violated. https://herald-zeitung.com/community_alert/article_49ae5a88-d526-11eb-ba56-d72557824b96.html

7. Comal

- a. Comal County GOP Chair Sue Gafford Piner [posted an image](https://texasdemocrats.org/media/breaking-two-more-racist-posts-from-county-gop-chairs-discovered/) of George Soros accompanied by text that read, “I pay white cops to murder black people. And then I pay black people to riot. Because race wars keep the sheep in line.” <https://texasdemocrats.org/media/breaking-two-more-racist-posts-from-county-gop-chairs-discovered/>
- b. Woman sued County DA for not promoting her due to her racial background. <https://casetext.com/case/dixon-v-comal-county-texas>
- c. School board of trustees President David Drastata referred to COVID-19 as the ‘China virus’ in an Aug. 17 email to Canyon High School Athletic Booster Club parents. In a meeting to discuss the incident, black parents/students were forced to sit in the back. <https://mycanyonlake.com/people-of-color-say-comal-isd-packed-the-room-with-whites-at-sept-10-board-meeting/>

8. Guadalupe

- a. Voter turnout for the March 1 party primaries declined from percentages Guadalupe posted in 2020 and 2018. Official numbers for the county indicated a turnout of 18.53%, or 21,362 ballots counted from the 115,293 registered voters in the county. The figures reflect how new election rules rushed into place by Republicans following the 2020 election made it harder for thousands of voters in both parties. “The new ID requirement created a lot of challenges, both for the voters and also for the elections office,” Guadalupe County Elections Administrator Lisa Hayes said. “It was challenging all over. “We thought we understood the scope of the challenge, but we didn’t. It really presented logistical issues – ballots that had come back that had been in limbo. We worked with those

voters to get their information updated, but it really created complications in having to keep track of it all.”

- i. https://herald-zeitung.com/community_alert/article_2b8f0ee6-a576-11ec-85b9-ab19e0bbac11.html
 - b. In 2018, Adrienne Peña-Garza succeeded in her campaign to lead the Hidalgo County Republican party becoming the first-ever Latina to sit as chair. Peña-garza is currently in her third term as Hidalgo County GOP Chair and has recently announced a bid for the vice chairmanship of the Texas Republican party. Her father is former Texas State Representative Aaron Peña.
 - i. <https://www.texasmonthly.com/news-politics/republican-latinas-rio-grande-valley/>
 - ii. <https://myrgv.com/featured/2022/05/17/pena-garza-announces-bid-for-state-republican-party-vice-chair/>
 - c. Racist leaflets unsettle Guadalupe County residents. The leaflets were made by a group that publishes conspiracy theories, including many that are antisemitic, proclaiming that “every single aspect of the COVID agenda is Jewish.” Though residents have reported them to the New Braunfels Police Department, an investigation concluded that no crime has been committed. “The literature, although obviously concerning in nature, is protected under the First Amendment,” the police department said in a statement.
 - i. https://seguingazette.com/alert/article_05a1d99e-913e-11ec-9167-63c4a01f034f.html
9. Caldwell
- a. Caldwell County Commissioners unanimously voted to remove a Confederate monument in 2020. However, prior to activist pressure and their eventual vote some Caldwell County Commissioners were split on the removal of the statue and opted to create a committee to assess keeping or removing it. Additionally, there was a local controversy in which the commissioners made the public fundraise over 29k to relocate it instead of the county handling it themselves. This discourse brought up the history of the Ku Klux Klan in Caldwell County rallying in the 1920s, where a Caldwell County Judge spoke at the rally in the Caldwell County Courthouse.
 - i. <https://www.fox7austin.com/news/caldwell-county-courthouse-confederate-monument-will-move-to-museum>
 - ii. <https://www.everythinglubbock.com/news/confederate-monument-relocation-controversy-continues-in-caldwell-county/>
 - iii. <https://www.kxan.com/news/local/caldwell-county-to-create-committee-on-future-of-confederate-monument/>
 - b. During the George Floyd movement and marches occurring in Lockhart in relation to the Confederate monument, Ray Chandler, a deputy constable in

Caldwell County and past Austin police officer posted on social media about retaliation against protesters who threatened him, his family, or property. It led to a flurry of comments from locals discussing deadly force against BLM protesters, including a truck as a weapon. Caldwell Constable Tom Will, the supervisor of Ray Chandler, defended and agreed with Chandler's comments, stating that if a protester uses force, they can legally respond with more force: "When asked about the possibility that Chandler's comments could inflame tensions or foster fear among residents, Will said, 'Those citizens are the ones that want to do away with the police department, so I don't care about them. The ones that are crybabyin' about that are not from Texas.' "

- i. <https://www.texasmonthly.com/news-politics/a-civil-rights-march-in-lockhart-was-peaceful-but-counterprotesters-threatened-violence/>
- c. In 1977, four Mexican voters sued and challenged the City of Lockhart's (Caldwell County, TX) electoral system—shifting in 1973 to a charter system instead of general law—claiming it barred Mexican-Americans from ever winning public office in Lockhart. By a 2-1 vote, the DC ruled that features of the Lockhart's electoral system locally effectively undercut the electoral power of Lockhart's Mexican-Americans by "reducing the size of the candidate field and highlighting the individual candidates for each position." However, in 1983 the Supreme Court refused 6-3 to throw out the city council election system stating it was permitted under the VRA.
 - i. <https://scholarlycommons.law.wlu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=&httpredir=1&article=1575&context=casefiles>
 - ii. <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1983/02/23/Court-rejects-Voting-Rights-complaint/6811414824400/>
- d. A U-Penn report on racial inequality in schools in southern states found the following for Caldwell Independent School District: 1,888 total students, 10.1% Black enrollment, with 26.7% of suspensions being Black students, equating to a disproportionate impact (DI) of 2.7X. For Lockhart Independent School District in Caldwell County: 4,820 total students, 5.1% Black enrollment, 11.1% Black suspension, equating to DI of 2.2X.
 - i. https://www.prisonpolicy.org/scans/School_disc_southern.pdf
- e. Equity audit survey results from the San Marcos Consolidated Independent School District (Caldwell County, TX) revealed unreported racism within the school district and dropouts trending upward. A local mom also filed a complaint against the school district due to a teacher making a racially insensitive remark.
 - i. <https://www.kxan.com/news/local/hays/san-marcos-cisd-audit-racism-not-being-reported-drop-outs-trending-upward/>
 - ii. <https://www.kxan.com/news/local/hays/san-marcos-mom-files-complaint-against-daughters-school-alleging-insensitive-response-to-racial-slur/>

- f. Charles Laws, Mustang Ridge (Caldwell County, TX) City Councilmember used an anti-Latino racial slur when describing Texas detention centers.
 - i. <https://archive.thinkprogress.org/tx-councilman-immigrant-detention-center-is-a-holding-pen-for-wetbacks-7cb853f387da/>
 - ii. <https://www.austinchronicle.com/news/2008-03-28/606186/>
- g. Prairie View Mayor Frank Jackson was interviewed by University of North Texas discussing Sandra Bland, and he described his childhood in Luling (Caldwell County, TX) and the deep racism, racial trauma, and white supremacist history of the community. His testimony describes how railroad tracks separated and segregated White, Black, and Mexican projects.
 - i. <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth836683/m1/>
 - ii. <https://medium.com/illumination/racism-in-texas-they-destroyed-the-high-school-records-of-black-people-5b4ce3f4c512>

Challenged Congressional Districts

- 1. Harris County Congressional Area
 - 1. In Harris County, Black mothers and their babies face an increased risk of complications and premature births. Every year the March of Dimes releases a “report card” in which it gives counties in Texas a grade for their preterm birth rates. Harris County received a grade F in 2021. The report also contains statistical data about cesarean birth, inadequate prenatal care, and policy measures enacted in the state.
 - a. <https://www.click2houston.com/news/local/2022/04/12/black-mothers-babies-at-increased-risk-for-complications-and-premature-birth-in-harris-county/>
 - b. <https://www.click2houston.com/news/local/2022/04/11/black-maternal-health-week-shines-spotlight-on-inequities-affecting-pregnant-women/>
 - 2. Harris County identifies racial disparities in use of force and citations from law enforcement agencies.
 - a. <https://communityimpact.com/houston/cy-fair/public-safety/2021/06/09/harris-county-identifies-racial-disparities-in-use-of-force-citations-from-law-enforcement-agencies/>
 - 3. A poll conducted by the UH Hobby School of Public Affairs found racial disparity in social justice concerns among Harris County residents. The report suggests a stark contrast among race, gender, and age, though the largest disparity can be found among partisanship in regards to topics of concern such as failing public schools, streets in poor condition, homelessness, lack of access to health care, and traffic congestions.
 - a. <https://www.houstonpublicmedia.org/articles/news/harris-county/2021/02/12/391158/new-study-suggests-large-disparity-in-social-justice-concerns-among-harris-county-residents/>

- b. <https://uh.edu/news-events/stories/2021/february-2021/02102021-hobby-harris-county.php>
 - 4. After finding discrimination in the Texas General Land Office's Hurricane Harvey recovery fund plan, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) is giving the office 10 days to respond and fix this issue. HUD held a previous investigation in March, when it found discrimination on the basis of race and national origin, according to a March 8 announcement from Houston Mayor Sylvester Turner's office. According to the May 16, 2022, letter from HUD to the GLO, the Harvey recovery plan uses "two scoring criteria that substantially and predictably disadvantaged Black and Hispanic residents." GLO excludes areas HUD has identified as most impacted and distressed and scored applicants based on jurisdiction size, giving more to a smaller jurisdiction than it would a larger one for an equivalent project, the letter said.
 - a. <https://communityimpact.com/houston/heights-river-oaks-montrose/government/2022/05/18/us-department-of-housing-and-urban-development-letter-gives-texas-10-days-to-fix-hurricane-harvey-funding-discrimination/>
 - b. <https://www.houstontx.gov/mayor/press/2022/statement-hud-glo-discriminates.html>
 - 5. Houston and Harris county seek waiver of bedroom limit in the rebuilding of homes affected by the Harvey flood.
 - a. <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/Houston-Harris-County-seek-waiver-of-bedroom-14016189.php>
 - 6. In a meeting with constituents and the Harris County Medicare for All coalition, Congressmember Sylvia Garcia (TX-29) said she disagreed with abolishing private insurance. According to statistics, the Latino and Latinx communities represent 79 percent of the 29th district population, and the median income for a family in the district is \$48,300.
 - a. <https://texassignal.com/i-just-dont-agree-with-abolishing-private-insurance-rep-sylvia-garcia-says/>
2. CD 23
- a. Counties in CD 23 are Regan, Upton, Crane, Loving, Ward, Winkler, Reeves, Pecos, Terrell, Val Verde, Edwards, Kinney, Medina, Maverick, Frio, Zavala, Dimmit, Terrell, Brewster, Presidio, Culberson, Hudspeth, El Paso
 - b. CD 23 has been targeted in redistricting. 2012 District was drawn with a goal to limit Latino electoral influence. "The two judges wrote that with the sprawling Congressional District 23, map drawers had taken steps to intentionally disadvantage Latino voters by including Hispanics with lower voter turnout rates,

excluding higher-turnout Hispanics, fracturing politically cohesive Hispanic areas and including “higher-turnout Anglos” in the district.”

- i. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/11/us/texas-congressional-maps-are-struck-down-for-discrimination.html>
- ii. <https://www.facingsouth.org/2012/09/five-ways-courts-say-texas-discriminated-against-b.html>
- c. Castroville (Medina County, near San Antonio) police chief resigns after allegedly using n-word during a murder investigation
 - i. <https://www.sacurrent.com/news/castroville-police-chief-resigns-following-accusations-he-repeatedly-using-n-word-during-investigation-28383948>
 - ii. <https://www.yahoo.com/video/texas-police-chief-accused-using-143904047.html>
- d. University of Houston Study shows that voter ID laws dissuaded CD 23 voters from turning out to vote in 2014 election (which Hurd won over a Latino candidate). “This study suggests that the most significant impact of the Texas voter photo ID law on voter participation in CD-23 in November 2014 was to discourage turnout among registered voters who did indeed possess an approved form of photo ID, but through some combination of misunderstanding, doubt or lack of knowledge, believed that they did not possess the necessary photo identification. “
 - i. https://uh.edu/hobby/cpp/white-paper-series/_docs/HCPP%20White%20Paper%20Series%20No%207.pdf

3. CD 15

- a. Counties in CD 15 are Guadalupe, Wilson, Karnes, Live Oak, Jim Wells, Brooks, and Hidalgo.
- b. Latino students in Ed (Hidalgo County) 1960s facilitated school walkouts in response to racial discrimination, discrimination against migrants and un-met demands. “For three days, following the walkout, these students protested for better education, end segregation, racism and discrimination against them, and to receive better treatment from the teachers, counselors, and school administration.”
 - i. <https://omeka.utrgv.edu/exhibits/show/edcouchelsawalkouts/edcouchelsawalkouts-background>
- c. Housing discrimination claim in Karnes, Texas against Latino and African American residents
 - i. http://nlihc.org/sites/default/files/Housing-Discrimination-Complaint_TX_062618.pdf
- d. Anti-Latino and Anti-migrant environment. Lynching of a Latino immigrant in Brooks county as recently as 2021. “Nearly one hundred other migrants’ bodies had been discovered in the county this year, but this one was hanging from a

noose that had been fashioned from the remains of a shirt and was tied to a limb on a rugged old oak tree.”

- i. <https://www.texasmonthly.com/news-politics/immigrant-lynched-brooks-county/>
- e. Nine Latino voters arrested in 2018 for alleged voter fraud. “The AG’s office says the arrests follow an ongoing investigation into a coordinated effort by political workers to recruit people who agreed to fraudulently claim residential addresses so they could vote in specific city of Edinburg municipal races.”
 - i. <https://www.ktre.com/2018/11/08/people-arrested-alleged-voter-fraud-hidalgo-county/>
- f. Low density polling places in 2022 primary elections in Hidalgo county
 - i. <https://riograndeguardian.com/solis-redo-the-primary-election-in-hidalgo-county-tens-of-thousands-of-voters-disenfranchised/>

North Texas

1. History of racial disparities in social outcomes.
 - a. Attached table includes ACS data showing racial disparities in poverty, educational attainment and health care (insurance coverage). Links below:
 - i. <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=tarrant%20county%20texas%20poverty%20race>
 - ii. <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=tarrant%20county%20texas%20education%20race>
 - iii. <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=tarrant%20county%20texas%20insurance&tid=ACST5Y2020.S2701>
2. Lack of racial representation. City of Ft. Worth has not had a minority mayor in its history
 - a. <https://www.wfaa.com/article/news/politics/fort-worth-voters-choose-first-millennial-mayor-mattie-parker-first-minority-mayor-deborah-peoples/287-4dab932f-bdc1-42ca-b4bb-97dbd91fe582>
3. School board election in Southlake, Texas (city partially covered by SD 10) was divided by education on race and racism (CRT), despite students reporting testimonies of racial tension.
 - a. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/bitterly-divided-election-southlake-texas-opponents-anti-racism-education-win-n1266102>
 - b. <https://www.nbcdfw.com/news/local/carroll-isd-school-board-hosts-special-meeting-to-address-offensive-video-made-by-students/78448/>
4. Current candidate for Tarrant County Judge, O’Hare, has history of racist appeals
 - a. Championed a ban on renting to “illegal immigrants” when he was a councilman in Farmers Branch (not covered by SD10)
 - i. <https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2006/dec/27/ban-on-renting-to-illegal-immigrants-challenged/>
 - b. Called Latinos “less desirable people” who “don’t value education” in the Dallas Observer

- i. <https://www.dallasobserver.com/news/farmers-branch-has-spent-five-years-and-millions-of-dollars-trying-to-keep-out-mexicans-is-it-time-for-a-truce-6426693>
- 5. Despite being over 35% Hispanic, the Ft. Worth city council only has one Latino district and documented lack of Latino representation
 - a. <https://www.nbcdfw.com/news/local/fort-worth-hispanic-community-pushing-for-more-representation-ahead-of-local-elections/19969/>
- 6. History of racial tension.
 - a. Case of Atatiana Jefferson, killed by Ft. Worth Police in her home
 - b. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/trial-set-for-texas-officer-who-shot-black-woman-in-her-home>

Dallas-Fort Worth Area

- 4. COVID disparities by race/ethnicity
 - a. **Tarrant County:** <https://www.tarrantcounty.com/en/public-health/disease-control---prevention/COVID-19.html>
 - b. **Dallas County:** <https://www.dallascounty.org/covid-19/>
- 5. In the 2019-20 school year, Black students made up 21.6% of the district's enrollment and accounted for 51.6% of out-of-school suspensions. Meanwhile, Black students' academic outcomes were worse than their peers.
<https://www.texastribune.org/2021/04/27/texas-dallas-schools-rules-black-students/>
- 6. The department's Office for Civil Rights notified the suburban school district's officials last week that it had opened three investigations into complaints about racial and gender discrimination.
<https://www.nbcdfw.com/news/local/federal-investigators-launch-civil-rights-probe-into-southlake-schools/2818333/>
- 7. Dumps in the Fort Worth Area disproportionately affect brown/black people.
<https://www.keranews.org/environment-nature/2022-03-25/neighbors-in-industrial-southeast-fort-worth-say-theyve-had-enough-of-air-pollution>
- 8. The residents of Choate Road in southeast Dallas, a predominantly Black and Latino agricultural community, have seen the rise of Shingle Mountain, a more than 700,000-ton toxic illegal waste dump. The toxic dump has affected the health of many residents such as constant nose bleeds, headaches/migraines, and difficulty breathing.
<https://www.texastribune.org/2020/12/09/southeast-dallas-shingle-mountain-environmental-racism/>
- 9. On June 8, 2019, Karla Garcia ran against Camille White in the General runoff election for the Dallas ISD Board District 4 Trustee and won 59.2% (1,152) of the votes making her the board's youngest and first Latina member. Garcia had previously ran against White and other fellow candidates, Omar Jimenez and Amalia Lozano, for District 4 Trustee during the General election held on May 4, 2019, where she won 44.2% (1,093) of the votes. https://ballotpedia.org/Karla_Garcia
<https://www.dallasnews.com/news/education/2019/12/30/meet-karla-garcia-the-dallas-isd-boards-youngest-member-and-first-latina/>
- 10. Mesquite, a city located in the eastern region of Dallas County, elected Daniel Aleman on November 2, 2021 as mayor. Aleman with 59% (3,969) of the votes defeated his

opponent Ron Ward, who amassed 2,766 of the votes, for the open seat left by Mayor Bruce Archer. Aleman, a third-generation Mexican-American, is the first person of color to serve as mayor, which is Mesquite's highest office. If Ward won the election, he also would have made history as the city's first Black mayor. Prior to his appointment as Mayor, Aleman was a pastor and District 6 council member.

- a. <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/elections/2021/11/02/mesquite-will-elect-its-first-mayor-of-color-tuesday-read-here-for-election-updates/>
- b. <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2021/11/05/i-bring-god-into-everything-meet-mesquites-firstlatino-mayor-daniel-aleman/>
- c. <https://www.nbcdfw.com/news/local/mesquite-makes-history-electing-first-hispanic-mayor/2801568/>

11. Tarrant County Judicial Race February 2018

- a. Residents received a robocall impersonating former President Barack Obama and purporting to endorse Mamie Johnson, an African American candidate running as a Republican. The call states, "Mamie is a proud liberal like us."
- b. Although Johnson's opponent, Deborah Nekhom, did not take responsibility for the call, her campaign defended it, saying, "the points made in the call are accurate: Mamie Johnson is a lifelong Democrat, who has voted for Democrats up through the 2016 election cycle and was the last elected Democrat voted out of office in Tarrant County."

ACS 2020 (5-Year Estimates)

Statistics	Dallas County, Texas		Tarrant County, Texas		TOTAL	
SE:A03001. Race						
Total Population:	2,622,634		2,077,153		4,699,787	
White Alone	1,475,503	56.3%	1,316,916	63.4%	2,792,419	59.4%
Black or African American Alone	593,081	22.6%	345,026	16.6%	938,107	20.0%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	10,364	0.4%	10,194	0.5%	20,558	0.4%
Asian Alone	170,955	6.5%	116,114	5.6%	287,069	6.1%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	1,147	0.0%	4,114	0.2%	5,261	0.1%
Some Other Race Alone	199,281	7.6%	159,724	7.7%	359,005	7.6%
Two or More Races	172,303	6.6%	125,065	6.0%	297,368	6.3%
SE:A10010. Households by Race of Householder						
Households:	945,996		722,446		1,668,442	
With a Householder Who Is White Alone	544,136	57.5%	486,441	67.3%	1,030,577	61.8%
With a Householder Who Is Black or African American Alone	234,836	24.8%	123,198	17.1%	358,034	21.5%
With a Householder Who Is American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	3,509	0.4%	3,529	0.5%	7,038	0.4%
With a Householder Who Is Asian Alone	59,643	6.3%	33,674	4.7%	93,317	5.6%
With a Householder Who Is Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	605	0.1%	1,107	0.2%	1,712	0.1%
With a Householder Who Is Some Other Race Alone	55,214	5.8%	44,108	6.1%	99,322	6.0%
With a Householder Who Is Two or More Races	48,053	5.1%	30,389	4.2%	78,442	4.7%
With a Householder Who Is Hispanic or Latino	282,614	29.9%	162,254	22.5%	444,868	26.7%
With a Householder Who Is White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino	350,344	37.0%	387,970	53.7%	738,314	44.3%
SE:A03001B. Race (Renter-Occupied Housing Units)						
Renter-Occupied Housing Units:	469,621		286,903		756,524	
White Alone Householder	233,067	49.6%	163,899	57.1%	396,966	52.5%
Black or African American Alone Householder	151,711	32.3%	76,073	26.5%	227,784	30.1%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone Householder	1,546	0.3%	1,450	0.5%	2,996	0.4%
Asian Alone Householder	29,234	6.2%	11,387	4.0%	40,621	5.4%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder	255	0.1%	773	0.3%	1,028	0.1%
Some Other Race Alone Householder	29,802	6.4%	20,338	7.1%	50,140	6.6%
Two or More Races Householder	24,006	5.1%	12,983	4.5%	36,989	4.9%
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder	134,920	28.7%	120,289	41.9%	255,209	33.7%
Hispanic or Latino Householder	142,868	30.4%	72,146	25.2%	215,014	28.4%
SE:A10023. Housing Units by Hispanic Status of Householder						
Occupied Housing Units:	945,996		722,446		1,668,442	
Hispanic or Latino Householder	282,614	29.9%	162,254	22.5%	444,868	26.7%
Not Hispanic or Latino Householder	663,382	70.1%	560,192	77.5%	1,223,574	73.3%
SE:A17006B. Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)						
Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	310,383		186,118		496,501	
Employed	285,686	92.0%	171,286	92.0%	456,972	92.0%
Unemployed	24,697	8.0%	14,832	8.0%	39,529	8.0%
SE:A17006H. Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)						
Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	518,427		297,122		815,549	
Employed	493,842	95.3%	282,608	95.1%	776,450	95.2%
Unemployed	24,585	4.7%	14,514	4.9%	39,099	4.8%
SE:A17006I. Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)						
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	438,178		519,948		958,126	
Employed	422,152	96.3%	498,886	96.0%	921,038	96.1%

ACS 2020 (5-Year Estimates)

Unemployed	16,026	3.7%	21,062	4.1%	37,088	3.9%
SE:A14024B. Per Capita Income (In 2020 Inflation Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone)						
Per Capita Income (In 2020 Inflation Adjusted Dollars)	\$25,281		\$26,194		\$25,617	
SE:A14024H. Per Capita Income (In 2020 Inflation Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino)						
Per Capita Income (In 2020 Inflation Adjusted Dollars)	\$18,531		\$20,958		\$19,413	
SE:A14024I. Per Capita Income (In 2020 Inflation Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)						
Per Capita Income (In 2020 Inflation Adjusted Dollars)	\$59,817		\$46,017		\$52,094	
SE:B10060. White vs Non-White Homeowners						
Owner Occupied Housing Units:	476,375		435,543		911,918	
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Homeowners	215,424	45.2%	267,681	61.5%	483,105	53.0%
Non-White Homeowners	260,951	54.8%	167,862	38.5%	428,813	47.0%
SE:A13001B. Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months (Black or African American Alone)						
Black or African American Alone Population for Whom Poverty Status Is Determined:	584,282		340,109		924,391	
Income Below Poverty Level	111,556	19.1%	54,513	16.0%	166,069	18.0%
Income At or Above Poverty Level	472,726	80.9%	285,596	84.0%	758,322	82.0%
SE:A13001H. Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months (Hispanic or Latino)						
Hispanic or Latino Population for Whom Poverty Status Is Determined:	1,047,819		596,088		1,643,907	
Income Below Poverty Level	192,902	18.4%	93,644	15.7%	286,546	17.4%
Income At or Above Poverty Level	854,917	81.6%	502,444	84.3%	1,357,361	82.6%
SE:A13001I. Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)						
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Population for Whom Poverty Status Is Determined:	737,648		939,368		1,677,016	
Income Below Poverty Level	51,785	7.0%	64,899	6.9%	116,684	7.0%
Income At or Above Poverty Level	685,863	93.0%	874,469	93.1%	1,560,332	93.0%
Social Explorer Tables: ACS 2020 (5-Year Estimates) (SE), ACS 2020 (5-Year Estimates), Social Explorer; U.S. Census Bureau						

	American Community Survey (ACS) 2016- -2020 (5-Year Estimates)	
	State Senate District 10	
SE:B04001:Hispanic or Latino by Race (Collapsed Version)		
Total Population:	941,528	
Not Hispanic or Latino:	643,910	68.4%
White Alone	394,858	41.9%
Black or African American Alone	179,716	19.1%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	1,994	0.2%
Asian Alone	40,025	4.3%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	1,822	0.2%
Some Other Race Alone	2,051	0.2%
Two or More Races	23,444	2.5%
Hispanic or Latino	297,618	31.6%
ACS20_5yr:B15003:Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	599,191	
No Schooling Completed	12,767	2.1%
Nursery School	125	0.0%
Kindergarten	160	0.0%
1St Grade	400	0.1%
2Nd Grade	1,512	0.3%
3Rd Grade	2,794	0.5%
4Th Grade	1,485	0.2%
5Th Grade	2,718	0.5%
6Th Grade	13,752	2.3%
7Th Grade	2,825	0.5%
8Th Grade	7,402	1.2%
9Th Grade	13,828	2.3%
10Th Grade	10,487	1.8%
11Th Grade	12,591	2.1%
12Th Grade, No Diploma	9,928	1.7%
Regular High School Diploma	120,429	20.1%
Ged or Alternative Credential	23,721	4.0%
Some College, Less Than 1 Year	35,963	6.0%
Some College, 1 or More Years, No Degree	90,087	15.0%
Associate's Degree	45,880	7.7%

Bachelor's Degree or Higher	190,337	31.8%
ACS20_5yr:C15002B:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	114,014	
Male:	50,032	43.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	5,280	4.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	16,697	14.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	17,628	15.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	10,427	9.1%
Female:	63,982	56.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	6,482	5.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	18,046	15.8%
Some College or Associate's Degree	23,706	20.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	15,748	13.8%
ACS20_5yr:C15002D:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	26,781	
Male:	12,357	46.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,942	7.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,908	7.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,552	5.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	6,955	26.0%
Female:	14,424	53.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	2,837	10.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	3,019	11.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	2,129	7.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	6,439	24.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002C:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,481	
Male:	1,372	55.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	230	9.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	351	14.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	529	21.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	262	10.6%
Female:	1,109	44.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	175	7.1%

High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	224	9.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	406	16.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	304	12.3%
ACS20_5yr:C15002E:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,067	
Male:	584	54.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	91	8.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	162	15.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	331	31.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%
Female:	483	45.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	112	10.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	64	6.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	144	13.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	163	15.3%
ACS20_5yr:C15002F:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	45,151	
Male:	23,889	52.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	13,098	29.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,146	13.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	3,207	7.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,438	3.2%
Female:	21,262	47.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	10,447	23.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,490	14.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	2,751	6.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,574	3.5%
ACS20_5yr:C15002G:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	26,887	
Male:	13,423	49.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	2,876	10.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	3,947	14.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	3,358	12.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	3,242	12.1%

Female:	13,464	50.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	2,257	8.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	3,010	11.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	3,812	14.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	4,385	16.3%
ACS20_5yr:C15002H:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	288,553	
Male:	137,810	47.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	7,312	2.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	26,050	9.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	44,374	15.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	60,074	20.8%
Female:	150,743	52.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	7,161	2.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	31,923	11.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	47,225	16.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	64,434	22.3%
ACS20_5yr:C15002I:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	158,817	
Male:	79,489	50.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	32,465	20.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	22,966	14.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	14,124	8.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	9,934	6.3%
Female:	79,328	49.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	28,206	17.8%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	21,718	13.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	16,878	10.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	12,526	7.9%
SE:A17005:Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over		
Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over:	471,793	
Employed	445,353	94.4%
Unemployed	26,440	5.6%
SE:A17006B:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)		

Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	92,216	
Employed	83,748	90.8%
Unemployed	8,468	9.2%
SE:A17006C:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)		
American Indian and Alaska Native 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	2,176	
Employed	2,058	94.6%
Unemployed	118	5.4%
SE:A17006D:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Asian Alone)		
Asian 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	21,054	
Employed	20,207	96.0%
Unemployed	847	4.0%
SE:A17006E:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	942	
Employed	898	95.3%
Unemployed	44	4.7%
SE:A17006F:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
Some Other Race 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	40,165	
Employed	37,980	94.6%
Unemployed	2,185	5.4%
SE:A17006G:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Two or More Races)		
Two or More Races 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	24,712	
Employed	23,095	93.5%
Unemployed	1,617	6.5%
SE:A17006H:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	141,660	
Employed	133,682	94.4%
Unemployed	7,978	5.6%
SE:A17006I:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		

White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	207,111	
Employed	198,358	95.8%
Unemployed	8,753	4.2%
ACS20_5yr:B27001:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	932,037	
Male:	450,510	48.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	367,279	81.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	83,231	18.5%
Female:	481,527	51.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	401,821	83.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	79,706	16.6%
ACS20_5yr:C27001B:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	179,819	
Under 19 Years:	53,314	29.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	49,239	27.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	4,075	2.3%
19 To 64 Years:	108,896	60.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	85,344	47.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	23,552	13.1%
65 Years And Over:	17,609	9.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	17,411	9.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	198	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001C:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	3,810	
Under 19 Years:	1,115	29.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	891	23.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	224	5.9%
19 To 64 Years:	2,430	63.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,712	44.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	718	18.8%
65 Years And Over:	265	7.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	265	7.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001D:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Asian Alone)		

	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	40,457	
Under 19 Years:	10,243	25.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	9,448	23.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	795	2.0%
19 To 64 Years:	26,240	64.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	21,842	54.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	4,398	10.9%
65 Years And Over:	3,974	9.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	3,817	9.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	157	0.4%
ACS20_5yr:C27001E:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,817	
Under 19 Years:	524	28.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	419	23.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	105	5.8%
19 To 64 Years:	1,036	57.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	672	37.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	364	20.0%
65 Years And Over:	257	14.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	257	14.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001F:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	78,629	
Under 19 Years:	25,681	32.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	19,871	25.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	5,810	7.4%
19 To 64 Years:	47,932	61.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	25,734	32.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	22,198	28.2%
65 Years And Over:	5,016	6.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4,345	5.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	671	0.9%
ACS20_5yr:C27001G:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	60,080	
Under 19 Years:	28,199	46.9%

With Health Insurance Coverage	24,315	40.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	3,884	6.5%
19 To 64 Years:	29,648	49.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	20,321	33.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	9,327	15.5%
65 Years And Over:	2,233	3.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2,200	3.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	33	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001H:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	390,418	
Under 19 Years:	78,495	20.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	72,492	18.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	6,003	1.5%
19 To 64 Years:	235,970	60.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	205,062	52.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	30,908	7.9%
65 Years And Over:	75,953	19.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	75,540	19.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	413	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001I:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	295,364	
Under 19 Years:	108,036	36.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	89,272	30.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	18,764	6.4%
19 To 64 Years:	171,989	58.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	103,558	35.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	68,431	23.2%
65 Years And Over:	15,339	5.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	14,046	4.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,293	0.4%
ACS20_5yr:B25003:Tenure		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	319,891	
Owner Occupied	199,260	62.3%
Renter Occupied	120,631	37.7%
ACS20_5yr:B25003B:Tenure (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	

Total:	63,466	
Owner Occupied	29,237	46.1%
Renter Occupied	34,229	53.9%
ACS20_5yr:B25003C:Tenure (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,409	
Owner Occupied	897	63.7%
Renter Occupied	512	36.3%
ACS20_5yr:B25003D:Tenure (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	11,164	
Owner Occupied	7,085	63.5%
Renter Occupied	4,079	36.5%
ACS20_5yr:B25003E:Tenure (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	561	
Owner Occupied	133	23.7%
Renter Occupied	428	76.3%
ACS20_5yr:B25003F:Tenure (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	21,321	
Owner Occupied	12,463	58.5%
Renter Occupied	8,858	41.5%
ACS20_5yr:B25003G:Tenure (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	13,309	
Owner Occupied	7,956	59.8%
Renter Occupied	5,353	40.2%
ACS20_5yr:B25003H:Tenure (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	161,251	
Owner Occupied	113,459	70.4%
Renter Occupied	47,792	29.6%

ACS20_5yr:B25003I:Tenure (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	77,938	
Owner Occupied	46,134	59.2%
Renter Occupied	31,804	40.8%
ACS20_5yr:B19013:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$67,133	
ACS20_5yr:B19013B:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$50,323	
ACS20_5yr:B19013C:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$72,417	
ACS20_5yr:B19013D:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$76,226	
ACS20_5yr:B19013E:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$54,375	
ACS20_5yr:B19013F:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	

Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$50,517	
ACS20_5yr:B19013G:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$70,985	
ACS20_5yr:B19013H:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$84,482	
ACS20_5yr:B19013I:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$55,903	

	American Community Survey (ACS) 2016--2020 (5-Year Estimates)							
	Elmendorf city,		Hedley city, Texas		Randolph AFB CDP,		Somerset city,	
SE:B04001:Hispanic or Latino by Race (Collapsed Version)								
Total Population:	1,583		245		1,188		1,821	
Not Hispanic or Latino:	597	37.7%	245	100.0%	949	79.9%	365	20.0%
White Alone	578	36.5%	242	98.8%	789	66.4%	329	18.1%
Black or African American Alone	1	0.1%	0	0.0%	76	6.4%	6	0.3%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	0	0.0%	2	0.8%	0	0.0%	21	1.2%
Asian Alone	11	0.7%	1	0.4%	51	4.3%	6	0.3%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.1%	0	0.0%
Some Other Race Alone	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Two or More Races	7	0.4%	0	0.0%	32	2.7%	3	0.2%
Hispanic or Latino	986	62.3%	0	0.0%	239	20.1%	1,456	80.0%
ACS20_5yr:B15003:Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,024		176		559		1,207	
No Schooling Completed	25	2.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	14	1.2%
Nursery School	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Kindergarten	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
1St Grade	13	1.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
2Nd Grade	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
3Rd Grade	4	0.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	16	1.3%
4Th Grade	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
5Th Grade	3	0.3%	4	2.3%	0	0.0%	15	1.2%
6Th Grade	10	1.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	45	3.7%
7Th Grade	17	1.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	17	1.4%
8Th Grade	23	2.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	41	3.4%
9Th Grade	49	4.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	83	6.9%
10Th Grade	17	1.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	14	1.2%
11Th Grade	65	6.3%	5	2.8%	0	0.0%	25	2.1%
12Th Grade, No Diploma	13	1.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	39	3.2%
Regular High School Diploma	309	30.2%	34	19.3%	30	5.4%	343	28.4%

Ged or Alternative Credential	93	9.1%	24	13.6%	0	0.0%	63	5.2%
Some College, Less Than 1 Year	103	10.1%	15	8.5%	28	5.0%	116	9.6%
Some College, 1 or More Years, No Degree	138	13.5%	33	18.8%	49	8.8%	131	10.9%
Associate's Degree	53	5.2%	19	10.8%	76	13.6%	66	5.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	89	8.7%	42	23.9%	376	67.3%	179	14.8%
ACS20_5yr:C15002B:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Black or African American Alone)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1		0		41		0	
Male:	1	100.0%	0	8.48	17	41.5%	0	8.48
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	0.0%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
Some College or Associate's Degree	1	100.0%	0	8.48	9	22.0%	0	8.48
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%	0	8.48	8	19.5%	0	8.48
Female:	0	0.0%	0	8.48	24	58.5%	0	8.48
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	0.0%	0	8.48	5	12.2%	0	8.48
Some College or Associate's Degree	0	0.0%	0	8.48	5	12.2%	0	8.48
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%	0	8.48	14	34.1%	0	8.48
ACS20_5yr:C15002D:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Asian Alone)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	11		1		41		6	
Male:	5	45.5%	1	100.0%	7	17.1%	0	0.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

Bachelor's Degree or Higher	5	45.5%	0	0.0%	7	17.1%	0	0.0%
Female:	6	54.5%	0	0.0%	34	82.9%	6	100.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	23	56.1%	0	0.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	6	54.5%	0	0.0%	11	26.8%	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002C:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	4		2		4		106	
Male:	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	75.0%	98	92.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	76	71.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	17	16.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	75.0%	5	4.7%
Female:	4	100.0%	2	100.0%	1	25.0%	8	7.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	3.8%
Some College or Associate's Degree	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	4	3.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002E:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	0		0		1		0	
Male:	0	8.48	0	8.48	1	100.0%	0	8.48
Less Than High School Diploma	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48

High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
Some College or Associate's Degree	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	8.48	0	8.48	1	100.0%	0	8.48
Female:	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
Less Than High School Diploma	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
Some College or Associate's Degree	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
ACS20_5yr:C15002F:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Some Other Race Alone)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	119		0		2		38	
Male:	59	49.6%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	24	63.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	26	21.8%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	3	7.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	13	10.9%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	7	18.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	16	13.4%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	9	23.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	4	3.4%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	5	13.2%
Female:	60	50.4%	0	8.48	2	100.0%	14	36.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	22	18.5%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	34	28.6%	0	8.48	2	100.0%	10	26.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	2	1.7%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	4	10.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	2	1.7%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002G:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Two or More Races)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	63		0		33		55	
Male:	49	77.8%	0	8.48	14	42.4%	42	76.4%

Less Than High School Diploma	38	60.3%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	8	12.7%	0	8.48	2	6.1%	29	52.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	3	4.8%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	6	10.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%	0	8.48	12	36.4%	7	12.7%
Female:	14	22.2%	0	8.48	19	57.6%	13	23.6%
Less Than High School Diploma	2	3.2%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	5	9.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	8	12.7%	0	8.48	5	15.2%	0	0.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	2	3.2%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	5	9.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	2	3.2%	0	8.48	14	42.4%	3	5.5%
ACS20_5yr:C15002H:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	414		173		394		250	
Male:	210	50.7%	71	41.0%	221	56.1%	83	33.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	29	7.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	102	24.6%	24	13.9%	0	0.0%	44	17.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	67	16.2%	27	15.6%	45	11.4%	39	15.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	12	2.9%	20	11.6%	176	44.7%	0	0.0%
Female:	204	49.3%	102	59.0%	173	43.9%	167	66.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	12	2.9%	9	5.2%	0	0.0%	25	10.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	103	24.9%	34	19.7%	5	1.3%	49	19.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	65	15.7%	37	21.4%	49	12.4%	24	9.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	24	5.8%	22	12.7%	119	30.2%	69	27.6%
ACS20_5yr:C15002I:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Hispanic or Latino)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	

Total:	595		0		73		937	
Male:	316	53.1%	0	8.48	25	34.2%	475	50.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	120	20.2%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	162	17.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	81	13.6%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	128	13.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	105	17.6%	0	8.48	11	15.1%	138	14.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	10	1.7%	0	8.48	14	19.2%	47	5.0%
Female:	279	46.9%	0	8.48	48	65.8%	462	49.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	78	13.1%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	116	12.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	113	19.0%	0	8.48	16	21.9%	174	18.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	56	9.4%	0	8.48	11	15.1%	112	12.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	32	5.4%	0	8.48	21	28.8%	60	6.4%
SE:A17005:Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over								
Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over:	698		131		251		792	
Employed	578	82.8%	131	100.0%	214	85.3%	743	93.8%
Unemployed	120	17.2%	0	0.0%	37	14.7%	49	6.2%
SE:A17006B:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)								
Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	1		0		27		15	
Employed	1	100.0%	0		25	92.6%	15	100.0%
Unemployed	0	0.0%	0		2	7.4%	0	0.0%
SE:A17006C:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)								
American Indian and Alaska Native 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	0		0		1		29	

Employed	0		0		1	100.0%	25	86.2%
Unemployed	0		0		0	0.0%	4	13.8%
SE:A17006D:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Asian Alone)								
Asian 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	11		1		30		0	
Employed	11	100.0%	1	100.0%	30	100.0%	0	
Unemployed	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	
SE:A17006E:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone)								
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	0		0		1		0	
Employed	0		0		1	100.0%	0	
Unemployed	0		0		0	0.0%	0	
SE:A17006F:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Some Other Race Alone)								
Some Other Race 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	49		0		4		23	
Employed	37	75.5%	0		4	100.0%	23	100.0%
Unemployed	12	24.5%	0		0	0.0%	0	0.0%
SE:A17006G:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Two or More Races)								
Two or More Races 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	45		0		26		22	
Employed	13	28.9%	0		26	100.0%	22	100.0%
Unemployed	32	71.1%	0		0	0.0%	0	0.0%
SE:A17006H:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)								

Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	411		0		40		633	
Employed	326	79.3%	0		34	85.0%	594	93.8%
Unemployed	85	20.7%	0		6	15.0%	39	6.2%
SE:A17006I:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)								
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	272		130		140		139	
Employed	237	87.1%	130	100.0%	111	79.3%	133	95.7%
Unemployed	35	12.9%	0	0.0%	29	20.7%	6	4.3%
ACS20_5yr:B27001:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,583		245		913		1,821	
Male:	860	54.3%	129	52.7%	404	44.2%	879	48.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	622	72.3%	118	91.5%	396	98.0%	739	84.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	238	27.7%	11	8.5%	8	2.0%	140	15.9%
Female:	723	45.7%	116	47.3%	509	55.8%	942	51.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	544	75.2%	103	88.8%	507	99.6%	841	89.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	179	24.8%	13	11.2%	2	0.4%	101	10.7%
ACS20_5yr:C27001B:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Black or African American Alone)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1		0		68		25	
Under 19 Years:	0	0.0%	0	8.48	33	48.5%	13	52.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	8.48	33	48.5%	13	52.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
19 To 64 Years:	1	100.0%	0	8.48	35	51.5%	12	48.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	8.48	35	51.5%	6	24.0%

No Health Insurance Coverage	1	100.0%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	6	24.0%
65 Years And Over:	0	0.0%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001C:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	7		2		1		125	
Under 19 Years:	3	42.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	8.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	8.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	3	42.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
19 To 64 Years:	2	28.6%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	39	31.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	11	8.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	2	28.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	28	22.4%
65 Years And Over:	2	28.6%	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	76	60.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2	28.6%	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	76	60.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001D:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Asian Alone)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	11		1		51		6	
Under 19 Years:	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	19.6%	0	0.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	19.6%	0	0.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
19 To 64 Years:	11	100.0%	1	100.0%	41	80.4%	6	100.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	11	100.0%	1	100.0%	41	80.4%	6	100.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
65 Years And Over:	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001E:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	0		0		1		0	
Under 19 Years:	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
19 To 64 Years:	0	8.48	0	8.48	1	100.0%	0	8.48
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	8.48	0	8.48	1	100.0%	0	8.48
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
65 Years And Over:	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
ACS20_5yr:C27001F:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Some Other Race Alone)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	156		0		8		43	
Under 19 Years:	25	16.0%	0	8.48	2	25.0%	5	11.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4	2.6%	0	8.48	2	25.0%	5	11.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	21	13.5%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
19 To 64 Years:	108	69.2%	0	8.48	6	75.0%	29	67.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	63	40.4%	0	8.48	6	75.0%	19	44.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	45	28.8%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	10	23.3%
65 Years And Over:	23	14.7%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	9	20.9%

With Health Insurance Coverage	23	14.7%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	9	20.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001G:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Two or More Races)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	73		0		103		67	
Under 19 Years:	10	13.7%	0	8.48	64	62.1%	12	17.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	10	13.7%	0	8.48	64	62.1%	6	9.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	6	9.0%
19 To 64 Years:	51	69.9%	0	8.48	39	37.9%	44	65.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	16	21.9%	0	8.48	39	37.9%	22	32.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	35	47.9%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	22	32.8%
65 Years And Over:	12	16.4%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	11	16.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	12	16.4%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	11	16.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001H:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	578		242		558		329	
Under 19 Years:	113	19.6%	33	13.6%	326	58.4%	55	16.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	102	17.6%	33	13.6%	316	56.6%	51	15.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	11	1.9%	0	0.0%	10	1.8%	4	1.2%
19 To 64 Years:	390	67.5%	145	59.9%	223	40.0%	166	50.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	307	53.1%	124	51.2%	223	40.0%	144	43.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	83	14.4%	21	8.7%	0	0.0%	22	6.7%
65 Years And Over:	75	13.0%	64	26.4%	9	1.6%	108	32.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	75	13.0%	61	25.2%	9	1.6%	108	32.8%

No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	3	1.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001I:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Hispanic or Latino)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	986		0		213		1,456	
Under 19 Years:	320	32.5%	0	8.48	155	72.8%	390	26.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	246	24.9%	0	8.48	155	72.8%	359	24.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	74	7.5%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	31	2.1%
19 To 64 Years:	590	59.8%	0	8.48	58	27.2%	856	58.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	349	35.4%	0	8.48	58	27.2%	672	46.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	241	24.4%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	184	12.6%
65 Years And Over:	76	7.7%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	210	14.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	72	7.3%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	210	14.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	4	0.4%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003:Tenure								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	451		120		290		475	
Owner Occupied	357	79.2%	82	68.3%	0	0.0%	356	74.9%
Renter Occupied	94	20.8%	38	31.7%	290	100.0%	119	25.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003B:Tenure (Black or African American Alone Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	0		0		15		6	
Owner Occupied	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Renter Occupied	0	8.48	0	8.48	15	100.0%	6	100.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003C:Tenure (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2		0		3		12	
Owner Occupied	2	100.0%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	12	100.0%
Renter Occupied	0	0.0%	0	8.48	3	100.0%	0	0.0%

ACS20_5yr:B25003D:Tenure (Asian Alone Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	5		1		7		0	
Owner Occupied	5	100.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	8.48
Renter Occupied	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	100.0%	0	8.48
ACS20_5yr:B25003E:Tenure (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	0		0		1		0	
Owner Occupied	0	8.48	0	8.48	0	0.0%	0	8.48
Renter Occupied	0	8.48	0	8.48	1	100.0%	0	8.48
ACS20_5yr:B25003F:Tenure (Some Other Race Alone Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	40		0		2		17	
Owner Occupied	40	100.0%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	13	76.5%
Renter Occupied	0	0.0%	0	8.48	2	100.0%	4	23.5%
ACS20_5yr:B25003G:Tenure (Two or More Races Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	18		0		20		22	
Owner Occupied	16	88.9%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	14	63.6%
Renter Occupied	2	11.1%	0	8.48	20	100.0%	8	36.4%
ACS20_5yr:B25003H:Tenure (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	183		119		223		129	
Owner Occupied	142	77.6%	81	68.1%	0	0.0%	110	85.3%
Renter Occupied	41	22.4%	38	31.9%	223	100.0%	19	14.7%
ACS20_5yr:B25003I:Tenure (Hispanic or Latino Householder)								

	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	260		0		37		336	
Owner Occupied	207	79.6%	0	8.48	0	0.0%	236	70.2%
Renter Occupied	53	20.4%	0	8.48	37	100.0%	100	29.8%
ACS20_5yr:B19013:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$48,942		\$29,038		\$104,500		\$62,936	
ACS20_5yr:B19013B:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)					\$116,250			
ACS20_5yr:B19013C:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)								
ACS20_5yr:B19013D:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Asian Alone Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	

Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)								
ACS20_5yr:B19013E:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)								
ACS20_5yr:B19013F:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Some Other Race Alone Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$32,708						\$61,750	
ACS20_5yr:B19013G:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Two or More Races Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$56,667				\$57,917		\$83,750	

ACS20_5yr:B19013H:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$57,292		\$28,942		\$108,977		\$64,199	
ACS20_5yr:B19013I:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino Householder)								
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$45,750				\$55,625		\$47,250	

	American Community Survey (ACS) 2016--2020 (5-Year Estimates)			
	Dallas city, Texas		Fort Worth city, Texas	
SE:B04001:Hispanic or Latino by Race (Collapsed Version)				
Total Population:	1,338,846		892,221	
Not Hispanic or Latino:	783,441	58.5%	579,144	64.9%
White Alone	385,871	28.8%	346,705	38.9%
Black or African American Alone	321,012	24.0%	162,553	18.2%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	1,933	0.1%	2,202	0.2%
Asian Alone	47,659	3.6%	42,527	4.8%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	462	0.0%	612	0.1%
Some Other Race Alone	2,403	0.2%	2,337	0.3%
Two or More Races	24,101	1.8%	22,208	2.5%
Hispanic or Latino	555,405	41.5%	313,077	35.1%
ACS20_5yr:B15003:Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	876,582		562,928	
No Schooling Completed	25,669	2.9%	13,111	2.3%
Nursery School	152	0.0%	216	0.0%
Kindergarten	155	0.0%	149	0.0%
1St Grade	1,513	0.2%	491	0.1%
2Nd Grade	2,895	0.3%	1,291	0.2%
3Rd Grade	7,435	0.8%	2,578	0.5%
4Th Grade	4,002	0.5%	1,459	0.3%
5Th Grade	4,932	0.6%	2,771	0.5%
6Th Grade	34,583	3.9%	13,985	2.5%
7Th Grade	6,965	0.8%	2,686	0.5%
8Th Grade	15,891	1.8%	7,806	1.4%
9Th Grade	28,159	3.2%	14,759	2.6%
10Th Grade	16,907	1.9%	10,767	1.9%
11Th Grade	17,515	2.0%	11,176	2.0%
12Th Grade, No Diploma	17,026	1.9%	11,112	2.0%
Regular High School Diploma	162,859	18.6%	116,702	20.7%
Ged or Alternative Credential	27,643	3.2%	23,738	4.2%
Some College, Less Than 1 Year	35,641	4.1%	34,175	6.1%
Some College, 1 or More Years, No Degree	121,443	13.9%	84,918	15.1%
Associate's Degree	40,941	4.7%	39,736	7.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	304,256	34.7%	169,302	30.1%

ACS20_5yr:C15002B:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Black or African American Alone)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	220,044		104,504	
Male:	98,757	44.9%	46,588	44.6%
Less Than High School Diploma	12,702	5.8%	5,298	5.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	33,403	15.2%	16,345	15.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	32,516	14.8%	15,687	15.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	20,136	9.2%	9,258	8.9%
Female:	121,287	55.1%	57,916	55.4%
Less Than High School Diploma	13,265	6.0%	6,202	5.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	37,724	17.1%	17,231	16.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	43,860	19.9%	21,041	20.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	26,438	12.0%	13,442	12.9%
ACS20_5yr:C15002D:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Asian Alone)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	34,840		29,504	
Male:	17,857	51.3%	13,786	46.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	2,187	6.3%	1,844	6.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,355	3.9%	2,265	7.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,964	5.6%	2,578	8.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	12,351	35.5%	7,099	24.1%
Female:	16,983	48.7%	15,718	53.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	2,844	8.2%	3,257	11.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,803	5.2%	3,594	12.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,873	5.4%	2,888	9.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	10,463	30.0%	5,979	20.3%
ACS20_5yr:C15002C:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,932		2,754	
Male:	1,353	46.1%	1,486	54.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	265	9.0%	242	8.8%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	454	15.5%	292	10.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	385	13.1%	710	25.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	249	8.5%	242	8.8%
Female:	1,579	53.9%	1,268	46.0%

Less Than High School Diploma	278	9.5%	265	9.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	353	12.0%	246	8.9%
Some College or Associate's Degree	616	21.0%	406	14.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	332	11.3%	351	12.7%
ACS20_5yr:C15002E:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	367		449	
Male:	211	57.5%	230	51.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%	35	7.8%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	8	2.2%	69	15.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	51	13.9%	89	19.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	152	41.4%	37	8.2%
Female:	156	42.5%	219	48.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%	41	9.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	40	10.9%	54	12.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	61	16.6%	115	25.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	55	15.0%	9	2.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002F:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Some Other Race Alone)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	58,535		50,702	
Male:	31,183	53.3%	27,347	53.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	14,778	25.2%	14,316	28.2%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	7,869	13.4%	7,934	15.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	4,878	8.3%	3,530	7.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	3,658	6.2%	1,567	3.1%
Female:	27,352	46.7%	23,355	46.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	12,668	21.6%	10,648	21.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,767	11.6%	7,456	14.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	4,277	7.3%	3,331	6.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	3,640	6.2%	1,920	3.8%
ACS20_5yr:C15002G:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Two or More Races)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	45,467		25,969	
Male:	21,906	48.2%	13,003	50.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	6,823	15.0%	2,797	10.8%

High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	4,867	10.7%	4,420	17.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	4,448	9.8%	3,334	12.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	5,768	12.7%	2,452	9.4%
Female:	23,561	51.8%	12,966	49.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	5,793	12.7%	1,969	7.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	5,378	11.8%	2,856	11.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	5,157	11.3%	3,980	15.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	7,233	15.9%	4,161	16.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002H:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	300,206		249,828	
Male:	148,861	49.6%	119,987	48.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	5,557	1.9%	5,820	2.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	17,261	5.7%	23,988	9.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	30,824	10.3%	38,286	15.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	95,219	31.7%	51,893	20.8%
Female:	151,345	50.4%	129,841	52.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	5,463	1.8%	7,342	2.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	18,955	6.3%	25,280	10.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	34,099	11.4%	41,904	16.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	92,828	30.9%	55,315	22.1%
ACS20_5yr:C15002I:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Hispanic or Latino)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	306,954		168,591	
Male:	158,756	51.7%	86,314	51.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	76,252	24.8%	34,563	20.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	40,265	13.1%	26,911	16.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	23,098	7.5%	14,910	8.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	19,141	6.2%	9,930	5.9%
Female:	148,198	48.3%	82,277	48.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	64,864	21.1%	29,165	17.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	37,989	12.4%	23,003	13.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	25,480	8.3%	17,599	10.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	19,865	6.5%	12,510	7.4%
SE:A17005:Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over				
Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over:	714,440		459,932	

Employed	679,417	95.1%	433,817	94.3%
Unemployed	35,023	4.9%	26,115	5.7%
SE:A17006B:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)				
Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	162,185		84,511	
Employed	150,174	92.6%	76,731	90.8%
Unemployed	12,011	7.4%	7,780	9.2%
SE:A17006C:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)				
American Indian and Alaska Native 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	2,558		2,200	
Employed	2,423	94.7%	2,103	95.6%
Unemployed	135	5.3%	97	4.4%
SE:A17006D:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Asian Alone)				
Asian 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	28,907		23,484	
Employed	27,509	95.2%	22,514	95.9%
Unemployed	1,398	4.8%	970	4.1%
SE:A17006E:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone)				
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	373		473	
Employed	366	98.1%	465	98.3%
Unemployed	7	1.9%	8	1.7%
SE:A17006F:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Some Other Race Alone)				
Some Other Race 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	53,633		45,984	
Employed	49,854	93.0%	43,300	94.2%
Unemployed	3,779	7.0%	2,684	5.8%
SE:A17006G:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Two or More Races)				
Two or More Races 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	42,474		23,197	

Employed	40,227	94.7%	21,501	92.7%
Unemployed	2,247	5.3%	1,696	7.3%
SE:A17006H:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)				
Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	273,465		151,552	
Employed	260,370	95.2%	142,808	94.2%
Unemployed	13,095	4.8%	8,744	5.8%
SE:A17006I:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)				
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	236,835		191,106	
Employed	228,678	96.6%	182,919	95.7%
Unemployed	8,157	3.4%	8,187	4.3%
ACS20_5yr:B27001:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,329,706		881,997	
Male:	657,504	49.4%	430,675	48.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	495,251	75.3%	347,021	80.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	162,253	24.7%	83,654	19.4%
Female:	672,202	50.6%	451,322	51.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	527,204	78.4%	370,542	82.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	144,998	21.6%	80,780	17.9%
ACS20_5yr:C27001B:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Black or African American Alone)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	321,557		163,090	
Under 19 Years:	79,659	24.8%	47,432	29.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	71,867	22.3%	44,189	27.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	7,792	2.4%	3,243	2.0%
19 To 64 Years:	204,707	63.7%	100,356	61.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	150,888	46.9%	77,492	47.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	53,819	16.7%	22,864	14.0%
65 Years And Over:	37,191	11.6%	15,302	9.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	36,707	11.4%	15,169	9.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	484	0.2%	133	0.1%

ACS20_5yr:C27001C:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	4,363		4,377	
Under 19 Years:	1,015	23.3%	1,499	34.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	908	20.8%	1,209	27.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	107	2.5%	290	6.6%
19 To 64 Years:	3,011	69.0%	2,679	61.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2,111	48.4%	1,895	43.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	900	20.6%	784	17.9%
65 Years And Over:	337	7.7%	199	4.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	330	7.6%	174	4.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	7	0.2%	25	0.6%
ACS20_5yr:C27001D:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Asian Alone)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	48,280		43,046	
Under 19 Years:	8,649	17.9%	10,370	24.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	7,711	16.0%	9,437	21.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	938	1.9%	933	2.2%
19 To 64 Years:	36,092	74.8%	29,018	67.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	30,160	62.5%	23,521	54.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	5,932	12.3%	5,497	12.8%
65 Years And Over:	3,539	7.3%	3,658	8.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	3,504	7.3%	3,445	8.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	35	0.1%	213	0.5%
ACS20_5yr:C27001E:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	523		626	
Under 19 Years:	73	14.0%	154	24.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	64	12.2%	49	7.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	9	1.7%	105	16.8%
19 To 64 Years:	422	80.7%	365	58.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	348	66.5%	298	47.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	74	14.1%	67	10.7%
65 Years And Over:	28	5.4%	107	17.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	28	5.4%	107	17.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

ACS20_5yr:C27001F:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Some Other Race Alone)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	101,405		88,072	
Under 19 Years:	33,085	32.6%	29,271	33.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	25,229	24.9%	22,417	25.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	7,856	7.7%	6,854	7.8%
19 To 64 Years:	62,558	61.7%	54,333	61.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	30,945	30.5%	29,154	33.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	31,613	31.2%	25,179	28.6%
65 Years And Over:	5,762	5.7%	4,468	5.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	5,268	5.2%	3,540	4.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	494	0.5%	928	1.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001G:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Two or More Races)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	84,654		53,399	
Under 19 Years:	30,963	36.6%	23,827	44.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	25,609	30.3%	20,490	38.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	5,354	6.3%	3,337	6.2%
19 To 64 Years:	49,941	59.0%	27,794	52.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	32,452	38.3%	19,527	36.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	17,489	20.7%	8,267	15.5%
65 Years And Over:	3,750	4.4%	1,778	3.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	3,636	4.3%	1,745	3.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	114	0.1%	33	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001H:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	383,122		342,118	
Under 19 Years:	59,676	15.6%	72,323	21.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	55,301	14.4%	66,166	19.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	4,375	1.1%	6,157	1.8%
19 To 64 Years:	253,431	66.1%	218,053	63.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	223,872	58.4%	188,621	55.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	29,559	7.7%	29,432	8.6%
65 Years And Over:	70,015	18.3%	51,742	15.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	69,674	18.2%	51,366	15.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	341	0.1%	376	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001I:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Hispanic or Latino)				

	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	553,200		310,319	
Under 19 Years:	192,168	34.7%	113,516	36.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	153,932	27.8%	94,522	30.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	38,236	6.9%	18,994	6.1%
19 To 64 Years:	333,724	60.3%	182,151	58.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	172,810	31.2%	111,350	35.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	160,914	29.1%	70,801	22.8%
65 Years And Over:	27,308	4.9%	14,652	4.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	24,621	4.5%	13,162	4.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	2,687	0.5%	1,490	0.5%
ACS20_5yr:B25003:Tenure				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	524,498		307,248	
Owner Occupied	216,661	41.3%	174,993	57.0%
Renter Occupied	307,837	58.7%	132,255	43.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003B:Tenure (Black or African American Alone Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	141,588		60,576	
Owner Occupied	38,961	27.5%	24,898	41.1%
Renter Occupied	102,627	72.5%	35,678	58.9%
ACS20_5yr:B25003C:Tenure (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,670		1,396	
Owner Occupied	739	44.3%	959	68.7%
Renter Occupied	931	55.7%	437	31.3%
ACS20_5yr:B25003D:Tenure (Asian Alone Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	20,695		12,978	
Owner Occupied	7,209	34.8%	7,931	61.1%
Renter Occupied	13,486	65.2%	5,047	38.9%
ACS20_5yr:B25003E:Tenure (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	329		322	
Owner Occupied	99	30.1%	92	28.6%
Renter Occupied	230	69.9%	230	71.4%

ACS20_5yr:B25003F:Tenure (Some Other Race Alone Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	30,035		24,476	
Owner Occupied	10,697	35.6%	13,276	54.2%
Renter Occupied	19,338	64.4%	11,200	45.8%
ACS20_5yr:B25003G:Tenure (Two or More Races Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	26,591		13,110	
Owner Occupied	10,259	38.6%	7,351	56.1%
Renter Occupied	16,332	61.4%	5,759	43.9%
ACS20_5yr:B25003H:Tenure (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	193,863		143,752	
Owner Occupied	101,294	52.3%	90,235	62.8%
Renter Occupied	92,569	47.7%	53,517	37.2%
ACS20_5yr:B25003I:Tenure (Hispanic or Latino Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	158,263		84,021	
Owner Occupied	66,304	41.9%	48,764	58.0%
Renter Occupied	91,959	58.1%	35,257	42.0%
ACS20_5yr:B19013:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$54,747		\$64,567	
ACS20_5yr:B19013B:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$37,599		\$45,150	

ACS20_5yr:B19013C:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$48,889		\$70,500	
ACS20_5yr:B19013D:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Asian Alone Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$72,266		\$75,488	
ACS20_5yr:B19013E:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$47,250		\$32,094	
ACS20_5yr:B19013F:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Some Other Race Alone Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$46,581		\$52,879	
ACS20_5yr:B19013G:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Two or More Races Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$57,311		\$65,373	
ACS20_5yr:B19013H:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	

Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$84,256		\$80,815	
ACS20_5yr:B19013I:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation- Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino Householder)				
	<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$48,338		\$56,159	

	American Community Survey (ACS) 2016- 2020 (5-Year Estimates)	
	Tarrant County, Texas	
SE:B04001:Hispanic or Latino by Race (Collapsed Version)		
Total Population:	2,077,153	
Not Hispanic or Latino:	1,474,839	71.0%
White Alone	952,535	45.9%
Black or African American Alone	337,963	16.3%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	5,231	0.3%
Asian Alone	115,015	5.5%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	3,949	0.2%
Some Other Race Alone	4,967	0.2%
Two or More Races	55,179	2.7%
Hispanic or Latino	602,314	29.0%
ACS20_5yr:B15003:Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,336,510	
No Schooling Completed	25,606	1.9%
Nursery School	341	0.0%
Kindergarten	654	0.0%
1St Grade	672	0.1%
2Nd Grade	1,872	0.1%
3Rd Grade	4,211	0.3%
4Th Grade	3,010	0.2%
5Th Grade	5,866	0.4%
6Th Grade	22,818	1.7%
7Th Grade	5,832	0.4%
8Th Grade	13,703	1.0%
9Th Grade	26,869	2.0%
10Th Grade	21,525	1.6%
11Th Grade	22,982	1.7%
12Th Grade, No Diploma	24,493	1.8%
Regular High School Diploma	265,976	19.9%
Ged or Alternative Credential	53,824	4.0%
Some College, Less Than 1 Year	86,723	6.5%
Some College, 1 or More Years, No Degree	208,512	15.6%

Associate's Degree	105,192	7.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	435,829	32.6%
ACS20_5yr:C15002B:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	214,082	
Male:	96,427	45.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	8,324	3.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	29,688	13.9%
Some College or Associate's Degree	34,551	16.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	23,864	11.1%
Female:	117,655	55.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	10,274	4.8%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	29,201	13.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	44,376	20.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	33,804	15.8%
ACS20_5yr:C15002D:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	78,622	
Male:	36,438	46.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	5,146	6.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,140	7.8%
Some College or Associate's Degree	6,725	8.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	18,427	23.4%
Female:	42,184	53.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	8,885	11.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	8,537	10.9%
Some College or Associate's Degree	8,007	10.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	16,755	21.3%
ACS20_5yr:C15002C:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	6,666	
Male:	3,524	52.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	614	9.2%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	689	10.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,525	22.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	696	10.4%
Female:	3,142	47.1%

Less Than High School Diploma	531	8.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	466	7.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,296	19.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	849	12.7%
ACS20_5yr:C15002E:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,480	
Male:	1,238	49.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	189	7.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	282	11.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	637	25.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	130	5.2%
Female:	1,242	50.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	239	9.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	288	11.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	432	17.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	283	11.4%
ACS20_5yr:C15002F:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	91,159	
Male:	48,124	52.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	22,746	25.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	13,810	15.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	7,803	8.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	3,765	4.1%
Female:	43,035	47.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	17,344	19.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	14,160	15.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	7,345	8.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	4,186	4.6%
ACS20_5yr:C15002G:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	56,836	
Male:	27,689	48.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	5,100	9.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	8,340	14.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	7,370	13.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	6,879	12.1%

Female:	29,147	51.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	4,376	7.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,214	10.9%
Some College or Associate's Degree	9,502	16.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	9,055	15.9%
ACS20_5yr:C15002H:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	693,231	
Male:	332,800	48.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	17,502	2.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	70,205	10.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	107,118	15.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	137,975	19.9%
Female:	360,431	52.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	18,650	2.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	78,279	11.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	118,447	17.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	145,055	20.9%
ACS20_5yr:C15002I:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	323,406	
Male:	161,918	50.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	59,043	18.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	47,715	14.8%
Some College or Associate's Degree	32,404	10.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	22,756	7.0%
Female:	161,488	49.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	50,494	15.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	45,096	13.9%
Some College or Associate's Degree	37,919	11.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	27,979	8.7%
SE:A17005:Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over		
Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over:	1,091,244	
Employed	1,037,059	95.0%
Unemployed	54,185	5.0%
SE:A17006B:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)		

Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	186,118	
Employed	171,286	92.0%
Unemployed	14,832	8.0%
SE:A17006C:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)		
American Indian and Alaska Native 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	5,619	
Employed	5,389	95.9%
Unemployed	230	4.1%
SE:A17006D:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Asian Alone)		
Asian 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	62,881	
Employed	60,254	95.8%
Unemployed	2,627	4.2%
SE:A17006E:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	2,098	
Employed	2,054	97.9%
Unemployed	44	2.1%
SE:A17006F:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
Some Other Race 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	83,796	
Employed	79,478	94.8%
Unemployed	4,318	5.2%
SE:A17006G:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Two or More Races)		
Two or More Races 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	54,564	
Employed	51,738	94.8%
Unemployed	2,826	5.2%
SE:A17006H:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	297,122	
Employed	282,608	95.1%
Unemployed	14,514	4.9%
SE:A17006I:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	519,948	

Employed	498,886	95.9%
Unemployed	21,062	4.1%
ACS20_5yr:B27001:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,061,178	
Male:	1,006,324	48.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	832,806	82.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	173,518	17.2%
Female:	1,054,854	51.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	890,819	84.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	164,035	15.6%
ACS20_5yr:C27001B:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	341,733	
Under 19 Years:	101,674	29.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	93,409	27.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	8,265	2.4%
19 To 64 Years:	214,808	62.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	169,875	49.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	44,933	13.1%
65 Years And Over:	25,251	7.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	24,821	7.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	430	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001C:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	9,983	
Under 19 Years:	2,623	26.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2,037	20.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	586	5.9%
19 To 64 Years:	6,640	66.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4,729	47.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,911	19.1%
65 Years And Over:	720	7.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	695	7.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	25	0.3%
ACS20_5yr:C27001D:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	115,925	

Under 19 Years:	28,231	24.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	25,806	22.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	2,425	2.1%
19 To 64 Years:	76,099	65.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	63,298	54.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	12,801	11.0%
65 Years And Over:	11,595	10.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	11,219	9.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	376	0.3%
ACS20_5yr:C27001E:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	4,082	
Under 19 Years:	1,224	30.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	944	23.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	280	6.9%
19 To 64 Years:	2,445	59.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,793	43.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	652	16.0%
65 Years And Over:	413	10.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	352	8.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	61	1.5%
ACS20_5yr:C27001F:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	159,216	
Under 19 Years:	53,019	33.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	41,485	26.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	11,534	7.2%
19 To 64 Years:	97,973	61.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	55,668	35.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	42,305	26.6%
65 Years And Over:	8,224	5.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	7,171	4.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,053	0.7%
ACS20_5yr:C27001G:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	123,915	
Under 19 Years:	57,062	46.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	50,010	40.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	7,052	5.7%

19 To 64 Years:	61,806	49.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	44,767	36.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	17,039	13.8%
65 Years And Over:	5,047	4.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4,937	4.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	110	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001H:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	944,393	
Under 19 Years:	198,783	21.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	184,606	19.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	14,177	1.5%
19 To 64 Years:	584,892	61.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	508,751	53.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	76,141	8.1%
65 Years And Over:	160,718	17.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	159,861	16.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	857	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001I:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	598,683	
Under 19 Years:	219,534	36.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	182,676	30.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	36,858	6.2%
19 To 64 Years:	350,242	58.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	220,420	36.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	129,822	21.7%
65 Years And Over:	28,907	4.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	26,637	4.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	2,270	0.4%
ACS20_5yr:B25003:Tenure		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	722,446	
Owner Occupied	435,543	60.3%
Renter Occupied	286,903	39.7%
ACS20_5yr:B25003B:Tenure (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	123,198	
Owner Occupied	47,125	38.3%

Renter Occupied	76,073	61.7%
ACS20_5yr:B25003C:Tenure (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	3,529	
Owner Occupied	2,079	58.9%
Renter Occupied	1,450	41.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003D:Tenure (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	33,674	
Owner Occupied	22,287	66.2%
Renter Occupied	11,387	33.8%
ACS20_5yr:B25003E:Tenure (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,107	
Owner Occupied	334	30.2%
Renter Occupied	773	69.8%
ACS20_5yr:B25003F:Tenure (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	44,108	
Owner Occupied	23,770	53.9%
Renter Occupied	20,338	46.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003G:Tenure (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	30,389	
Owner Occupied	17,406	57.3%
Renter Occupied	12,983	42.7%
ACS20_5yr:B25003H:Tenure (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	387,970	
Owner Occupied	267,681	69.0%
Renter Occupied	120,289	31.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003I:Tenure (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	162,254	
Owner Occupied	90,108	55.5%

Renter Occupied	72,146	44.5%
ACS20_5yr:B19013:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$70,306	
ACS20_5yr:B19013B:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$52,474	
ACS20_5yr:B19013C:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$70,472	
ACS20_5yr:B19013D:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$77,924	
ACS20_5yr:B19013E:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$50,159	
ACS20_5yr:B19013F:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$54,528	
ACS20_5yr:B19013G:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Two or More Races Householder)		

	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$66,964	
ACS20_5yr:B19013H:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$84,417	
ACS20_5yr:B19013I:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$58,240	

	American Community Survey (ACS) 2016- -2020 (5-Year Estimates)	
	Hays County, Texas	
SE:B04001:Hispanic or Latino by Race (Collapsed Version)		
Total Population:	222,827	
Not Hispanic or Latino:	134,920	60.5%
White Alone	116,980	52.5%
Black or African American Alone	8,326	3.7%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	417	0.2%
Asian Alone	3,090	1.4%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	19	0.0%
Some Other Race Alone	1,599	0.7%
Two or More Races	4,489	2.0%
Hispanic or Latino	87,907	39.5%
ACS20_5yr:B15003:Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	134,420	
No Schooling Completed	1,221	0.9%
Nursery School	31	0.0%
Kindergarten	0	0.0%
1St Grade	70	0.1%
2Nd Grade	49	0.0%
3Rd Grade	442	0.3%
4Th Grade	120	0.1%
5Th Grade	345	0.3%
6Th Grade	1,422	1.1%
7Th Grade	603	0.4%
8Th Grade	862	0.6%
9Th Grade	1,686	1.3%
10Th Grade	2,055	1.5%
11Th Grade	2,158	1.6%
12Th Grade, No Diploma	1,886	1.4%
Regular High School Diploma	26,016	19.4%
Ged or Alternative Credential	4,664	3.5%
Some College, Less Than 1 Year	10,421	7.8%
Some College, 1 or More Years, No Degree	20,496	15.2%

Associate's Degree	8,018	6.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	51,855	38.6%
ACS20_5yr:C15002B:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	4,575	
Male:	2,438	53.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	124	2.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	647	14.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,104	24.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	563	12.3%
Female:	2,137	46.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	112	2.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	465	10.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	764	16.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	796	17.4%
ACS20_5yr:C15002D:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,959	
Male:	685	35.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	32	1.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	36	1.8%
Some College or Associate's Degree	60	3.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	557	28.4%
Female:	1,274	65.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	39	2.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	390	19.9%
Some College or Associate's Degree	219	11.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	626	32.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002C:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	606	
Male:	339	55.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	105	17.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	64	10.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	103	17.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	67	11.1%
Female:	267	44.1%

Less Than High School Diploma	14	2.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	28	4.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	187	30.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	38	6.3%
ACS20_5yr:C15002E:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	33	
Male:	33	100.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	0.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	14	42.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	19	57.6%
Female:	0	0.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	0.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	0	0.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002F:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	4,674	
Male:	2,263	48.4%
Less Than High School Diploma	555	11.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	599	12.8%
Some College or Associate's Degree	290	6.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	819	17.5%
Female:	2,411	51.6%
Less Than High School Diploma	184	3.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	708	15.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	605	12.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	914	19.6%
ACS20_5yr:C15002G:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	9,124	
Male:	4,957	54.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	634	6.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,511	16.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,353	14.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,459	16.0%

Female:	4,167	45.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	781	8.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,322	14.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	913	10.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,151	12.6%
ACS20_5yr:C15002H:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	76,724	
Male:	37,713	49.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,051	1.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,142	8.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	12,659	16.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	17,861	23.3%
Female:	39,011	50.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	989	1.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,886	9.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	11,210	14.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	19,926	26.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002I:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	47,726	
Male:	23,646	49.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	5,725	12.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	8,105	17.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	5,604	11.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	4,212	8.8%
Female:	24,080	50.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	4,645	9.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	7,568	15.9%
Some College or Associate's Degree	6,331	13.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	5,536	11.6%
SE:A17005:Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over		
Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over:	120,671	
Employed	114,022	94.5%
Unemployed	6,649	5.5%
SE:A17006B:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)		

Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	5,053	
Employed	4,601	91.1%
Unemployed	452	8.9%
SE:A17006C:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)		
American Indian and Alaska Native 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	613	
Employed	576	94.0%
Unemployed	37	6.0%
SE:A17006D:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Asian Alone)		
Asian 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	2,089	
Employed	2,063	98.8%
Unemployed	26	1.2%
SE:A17006E:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	55	
Employed	55	100.0%
Unemployed	0	0.0%
SE:A17006F:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
Some Other Race 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	3,278	
Employed	3,055	93.2%
Unemployed	223	6.8%
SE:A17006G:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Two or More Races)		
Two or More Races 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	8,522	
Employed	7,526	88.3%
Unemployed	996	11.7%
SE:A17006H:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	45,335	
Employed	42,829	94.5%
Unemployed	2,506	5.5%
SE:A17006I:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	66,038	

Employed	62,663	94.9%
Unemployed	3,375	5.1%
ACS20_5yr:B27001:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	221,288	
Male:	109,570	49.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	93,335	85.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	16,235	14.8%
Female:	111,718	50.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	97,244	87.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	14,474	13.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001B:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	8,965	
Under 19 Years:	2,343	26.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2,308	25.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	35	0.4%
19 To 64 Years:	6,072	67.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	5,273	58.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	799	8.9%
65 Years And Over:	550	6.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	543	6.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	7	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001C:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,354	
Under 19 Years:	669	49.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	662	48.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	7	0.5%
19 To 64 Years:	576	42.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	507	37.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	69	5.1%
65 Years And Over:	109	8.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	109	8.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001D:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	3,259	

Under 19 Years:	698	21.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	651	20.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	47	1.4%
19 To 64 Years:	2,373	72.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2,073	63.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	300	9.2%
65 Years And Over:	188	5.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	188	5.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001E:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	108	
Under 19 Years:	53	49.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	17	15.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	36	33.3%
19 To 64 Years:	55	50.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	55	50.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
65 Years And Over:	0	0.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001F:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	6,665	
Under 19 Years:	1,066	16.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,036	15.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	30	0.5%
19 To 64 Years:	4,165	62.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	3,418	51.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	747	11.2%
65 Years And Over:	1,434	21.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,434	21.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001G:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	17,884	
Under 19 Years:	7,186	40.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	6,164	34.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,022	5.7%

19 To 64 Years:	10,148	56.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	7,015	39.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	3,133	17.5%
65 Years And Over:	550	3.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	422	2.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	128	0.7%
ACS20_5yr:C27001H:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	116,294	
Under 19 Years:	23,241	20.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	21,876	18.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,365	1.2%
19 To 64 Years:	76,021	65.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	66,970	57.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	9,051	7.8%
65 Years And Over:	17,032	14.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	17,010	14.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	22	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001I:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	87,303	
Under 19 Years:	27,817	31.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	23,873	27.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	3,944	4.5%
19 To 64 Years:	54,457	62.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	40,207	46.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	14,250	16.3%
65 Years And Over:	5,029	5.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4,860	5.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	169	0.2%
ACS20_5yr:B25003:Tenure		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	76,724	
Owner Occupied	47,715	62.2%
Renter Occupied	29,009	37.8%
ACS20_5yr:B25003B:Tenure (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,781	
Owner Occupied	1,510	54.3%

Renter Occupied	1,271	45.7%
ACS20_5yr:B25003C:Tenure (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	395	
Owner Occupied	337	85.3%
Renter Occupied	58	14.7%
ACS20_5yr:B25003D:Tenure (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	962	
Owner Occupied	506	52.6%
Renter Occupied	456	47.4%
ACS20_5yr:B25003E:Tenure (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	19	
Owner Occupied	19	100.0%
Renter Occupied	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003F:Tenure (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,661	
Owner Occupied	922	55.5%
Renter Occupied	739	44.5%
ACS20_5yr:B25003G:Tenure (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	4,690	
Owner Occupied	2,341	49.9%
Renter Occupied	2,349	50.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003H:Tenure (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	47,138	
Owner Occupied	31,481	66.8%
Renter Occupied	15,657	33.2%
ACS20_5yr:B25003I:Tenure (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	24,182	
Owner Occupied	13,384	55.3%

Renter Occupied	10,798	44.7%
ACS20_5yr:B19013:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$68,724	
ACS20_5yr:B19013B:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$66,767	
ACS20_5yr:B19013C:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$86,755	
ACS20_5yr:B19013D:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$62,904	
ACS20_5yr:B19013E:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
ACS20_5yr:B19013F:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$50,927	
ACS20_5yr:B19013G:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Two or More Races Householder)		

	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$51,412	
ACS20_5yr:B19013H:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$76,869	
ACS20_5yr:B19013I:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$57,952	

	American Community Survey (ACS) 2016- -2020 (5-Year Estimates)	
	Harris County, Texas	
SE:B04001:Hispanic or Latino by Race (Collapsed Version)		
Total Population:	4,680,609	
Not Hispanic or Latino:	2,663,984	56.9%
White Alone	1,356,752	29.0%
Black or African American Alone	865,997	18.5%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	7,240	0.2%
Asian Alone	327,086	7.0%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	2,261	0.0%
Some Other Race Alone	13,018	0.3%
Two or More Races	91,630	2.0%
Hispanic or Latino	2,016,625	43.1%
ACS20_5yr:B15003:Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,995,908	
No Schooling Completed	92,200	3.1%
Nursery School	710	0.0%
Kindergarten	1,380	0.0%
1St Grade	4,503	0.2%
2Nd Grade	11,867	0.4%
3Rd Grade	19,048	0.6%
4Th Grade	12,534	0.4%
5Th Grade	19,706	0.7%
6Th Grade	88,263	2.9%
7Th Grade	18,554	0.6%
8Th Grade	36,556	1.2%
9Th Grade	76,553	2.6%
10Th Grade	46,421	1.5%
11Th Grade	54,406	1.8%
12Th Grade, No Diploma	61,410	2.0%
Regular High School Diploma	577,376	19.3%
Ged or Alternative Credential	106,299	3.5%
Some College, Less Than 1 Year	157,082	5.2%
Some College, 1 or More Years, No Degree	431,518	14.4%

Associate's Degree	212,930	7.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	966,592	32.3%
ACS20_5yr:C15002B:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	565,969	
Male:	254,884	45.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	26,938	4.8%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	78,933	13.9%
Some College or Associate's Degree	87,734	15.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	61,279	10.8%
Female:	311,085	55.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	25,855	4.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	74,705	13.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	117,872	20.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	92,653	16.4%
ACS20_5yr:C15002D:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	237,179	
Male:	112,673	47.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	14,685	6.2%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	13,617	5.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	21,998	9.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	62,373	26.3%
Female:	124,506	52.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	20,124	8.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	20,745	8.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	19,302	8.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	64,335	27.1%
ACS20_5yr:C15002C:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	12,690	
Male:	6,062	47.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,674	13.2%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,590	12.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,764	13.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,034	8.1%
Female:	6,628	52.2%

Less Than High School Diploma	1,531	12.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,611	12.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,807	14.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,679	13.2%
ACS20_5yr:C15002E:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,722	
Male:	735	42.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	86	5.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	221	12.8%
Some College or Associate's Degree	339	19.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	89	5.2%
Female:	987	57.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	270	15.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	269	15.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	210	12.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	238	13.8%
ACS20_5yr:C15002F:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	256,347	
Male:	135,370	52.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	57,834	22.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	39,096	15.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	25,051	9.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	13,389	5.2%
Female:	120,977	47.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	46,353	18.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	35,159	13.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	24,068	9.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	15,397	6.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002G:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	183,800	
Male:	92,125	50.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	25,898	14.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	19,574	10.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	25,217	13.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	21,436	11.7%

Female:	91,675	49.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	21,694	11.8%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	18,780	10.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	26,882	14.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	24,319	13.2%
ACS20_5yr:C15002H:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,007,935	
Male:	497,237	49.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	19,350	1.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	84,516	8.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	138,582	13.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	254,789	25.3%
Female:	510,698	50.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	21,117	2.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	96,062	9.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	150,445	14.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	243,074	24.1%
ACS20_5yr:C15002I:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,138,885	
Male:	580,557	51.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	221,941	19.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	160,727	14.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	121,546	10.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	76,343	6.7%
Female:	558,328	49.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	191,638	16.8%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	147,536	13.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	127,965	11.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	91,189	8.0%
SE:A17005:Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over		
Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over:	2,401,529	
Employed	2,253,218	93.8%
Unemployed	148,311	6.2%
SE:A17006B:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)		

Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	458,875	
Employed	414,842	90.4%
Unemployed	44,033	9.6%
SE:A17006C:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)		
American Indian and Alaska Native 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	10,258	
Employed	9,476	92.4%
Unemployed	782	7.6%
SE:A17006D:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Asian Alone)		
Asian 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	175,924	
Employed	168,416	95.7%
Unemployed	7,508	4.3%
SE:A17006E:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	1,479	
Employed	1,397	94.5%
Unemployed	82	5.5%
SE:A17006F:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
Some Other Race 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	217,704	
Employed	205,729	94.5%
Unemployed	11,975	5.5%
SE:A17006G:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Two or More Races)		
Two or More Races 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	161,654	
Employed	150,276	93.0%
Unemployed	11,378	7.0%
SE:A17006H:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	987,860	
Employed	929,095	94.1%
Unemployed	58,765	5.9%
SE:A17006I:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	740,369	

Employed	704,918	95.2%
Unemployed	35,451	4.8%
ACS20_5yr:B27001:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	4,657,343	
Male:	2,306,893	49.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,805,172	78.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	501,721	21.7%
Female:	2,350,450	50.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,900,603	80.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	449,847	19.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001B:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	879,417	
Under 19 Years:	247,079	28.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	226,884	25.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	20,195	2.3%
19 To 64 Years:	547,159	62.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	425,597	48.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	121,562	13.8%
65 Years And Over:	85,179	9.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	84,237	9.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	942	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001C:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	19,499	
Under 19 Years:	5,101	26.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	3,936	20.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,165	6.0%
19 To 64 Years:	12,387	63.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	8,200	42.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	4,187	21.5%
65 Years And Over:	2,011	10.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,976	10.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	35	0.2%
ACS20_5yr:C27001D:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	330,124	

Under 19 Years:	70,218	21.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	64,396	19.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	5,822	1.8%
19 To 64 Years:	219,353	66.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	185,562	56.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	33,791	10.2%
65 Years And Over:	40,553	12.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	38,190	11.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	2,363	0.7%
ACS20_5yr:C27001E:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,872	
Under 19 Years:	911	31.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	826	28.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	85	3.0%
19 To 64 Years:	1,742	60.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,313	45.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	429	14.9%
65 Years And Over:	219	7.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	219	7.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001F:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	427,443	
Under 19 Years:	132,107	30.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	101,877	23.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	30,230	7.1%
19 To 64 Years:	267,247	62.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	140,515	32.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	126,732	29.6%
65 Years And Over:	28,089	6.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	24,998	5.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	3,091	0.7%
ACS20_5yr:C27001G:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	341,064	
Under 19 Years:	127,276	37.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	111,001	32.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	16,275	4.8%

19 To 64 Years:	196,472	57.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	131,478	38.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	64,994	19.1%
65 Years And Over:	17,316	5.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	16,596	4.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	720	0.2%
ACS20_5yr:C27001H:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,348,101	
Under 19 Years:	269,112	20.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	253,216	18.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	15,896	1.2%
19 To 64 Years:	838,397	62.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	743,152	55.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	95,245	7.1%
65 Years And Over:	240,592	17.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	238,594	17.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,998	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001I:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,011,531	
Under 19 Years:	688,448	34.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	565,412	28.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	123,036	6.1%
19 To 64 Years:	1,210,771	60.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	699,806	34.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	510,965	25.4%
65 Years And Over:	112,312	5.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	102,375	5.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	9,937	0.5%
ACS20_5yr:B25003:Tenure		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,635,749	
Owner Occupied	897,913	54.9%
Renter Occupied	737,836	45.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003B:Tenure (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	337,198	
Owner Occupied	123,018	36.5%

Renter Occupied	214,180	63.5%
ACS20_5yr:B25003C:Tenure (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	7,009	
Owner Occupied	3,794	54.1%
Renter Occupied	3,215	45.9%
ACS20_5yr:B25003D:Tenure (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	111,716	
Owner Occupied	69,362	62.1%
Renter Occupied	42,354	37.9%
ACS20_5yr:B25003E:Tenure (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	720	
Owner Occupied	230	31.9%
Renter Occupied	490	68.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003F:Tenure (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	125,829	
Owner Occupied	54,949	43.7%
Renter Occupied	70,880	56.3%
ACS20_5yr:B25003G:Tenure (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	101,034	
Owner Occupied	52,924	52.4%
Renter Occupied	48,110	47.6%
ACS20_5yr:B25003H:Tenure (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	587,519	
Owner Occupied	400,703	68.2%
Renter Occupied	186,816	31.8%
ACS20_5yr:B25003I:Tenure (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	571,155	
Owner Occupied	289,045	50.6%

Renter Occupied	282,110	49.4%
ACS20_5yr:B19013:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$63,022	
ACS20_5yr:B19013B:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$46,702	
ACS20_5yr:B19013C:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$53,354	
ACS20_5yr:B19013D:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$80,847	
ACS20_5yr:B19013E:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$59,082	
ACS20_5yr:B19013F:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$46,554	
ACS20_5yr:B19013G:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Two or More Races Householder)		

	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$57,330	
ACS20_5yr:B19013H:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$91,233	
ACS20_5yr:B19013I:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$51,971	

	American Community Survey (ACS) 2016- 2020 (5-Year Estimates)	
	Guadalupe County, Texas	
SE:B04001:Hispanic or Latino by Race (Collapsed Version)		
Total Population:	163,030	
Not Hispanic or Latino:	100,706	61.8%
White Alone	80,949	49.7%
Black or African American Alone	12,586	7.7%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	263	0.2%
Asian Alone	2,648	1.6%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	204	0.1%
Some Other Race Alone	348	0.2%
Two or More Races	3,708	2.3%
Hispanic or Latino	62,324	38.2%
ACS20_5yr:B15003:Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	107,800	
No Schooling Completed	1,858	1.7%
Nursery School	15	0.0%
Kindergarten	16	0.0%
1St Grade	2	0.0%
2Nd Grade	95	0.1%
3Rd Grade	433	0.4%
4Th Grade	119	0.1%
5Th Grade	237	0.2%
6Th Grade	823	0.8%
7Th Grade	459	0.4%
8Th Grade	914	0.8%
9Th Grade	1,904	1.8%
10Th Grade	1,400	1.3%
11Th Grade	1,926	1.8%
12Th Grade, No Diploma	1,863	1.7%
Regular High School Diploma	28,337	26.3%
Ged or Alternative Credential	4,712	4.4%
Some College, Less Than 1 Year	9,075	8.4%
Some College, 1 or More Years, No Degree	13,388	12.4%

Associate's Degree	10,020	9.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	30,204	28.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002B:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	9,114	
Male:	4,682	51.4%
Less Than High School Diploma	341	3.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,032	11.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,462	16.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,847	20.3%
Female:	4,432	48.6%
Less Than High School Diploma	204	2.2%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	845	9.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,646	18.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,737	19.1%
ACS20_5yr:C15002D:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,931	
Male:	620	32.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	23	1.2%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	197	10.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	102	5.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	298	15.4%
Female:	1,311	67.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	193	10.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	262	13.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	295	15.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	561	29.1%
ACS20_5yr:C15002C:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	287	
Male:	147	51.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	37	12.9%
Some College or Associate's Degree	64	22.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	46	16.0%
Female:	140	48.8%

Less Than High School Diploma	21	7.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	71	24.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	0	0.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	48	16.7%
ACS20_5yr:C15002E:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	380	
Male:	183	48.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	139	36.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	5	1.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	39	10.3%
Female:	197	51.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	56	14.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	96	25.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	45	11.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002F:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	8,654	
Male:	4,145	47.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,304	15.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,579	18.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	916	10.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	346	4.0%
Female:	4,509	52.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,108	12.8%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,817	21.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	994	11.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	590	6.8%
ACS20_5yr:C15002G:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	7,317	
Male:	3,693	50.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	916	12.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,355	18.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,020	13.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	402	5.5%

Female:	3,624	49.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	614	8.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,146	15.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,142	15.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	722	9.9%
ACS20_5yr:C15002H:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	57,893	
Male:	28,097	48.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,196	2.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	7,522	13.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	9,299	16.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	10,080	17.4%
Female:	29,796	51.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,398	2.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	8,372	14.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	10,519	18.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	9,507	16.4%
ACS20_5yr:C15002I:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	36,904	
Male:	18,023	48.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	4,391	11.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	7,051	19.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	4,033	10.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	2,548	6.9%
Female:	18,881	51.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	4,051	11.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	7,334	19.9%
Some College or Associate's Degree	4,403	11.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	3,093	8.4%
SE:A17005:Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over		
Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over:	79,114	
Employed	75,554	95.5%
Unemployed	3,560	4.5%
SE:A17006B:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)		

Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	6,545	
Employed	6,253	95.5%
Unemployed	292	4.5%
SE:A17006C:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)		
American Indian and Alaska Native 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	216	
Employed	187	86.6%
Unemployed	29	13.4%
SE:A17006D:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Asian Alone)		
Asian 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	1,339	
Employed	1,194	89.2%
Unemployed	145	10.8%
SE:A17006E:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	264	
Employed	264	100.0%
Unemployed	0	0.0%
SE:A17006F:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
Some Other Race 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	6,846	
Employed	6,544	95.6%
Unemployed	302	4.4%
SE:A17006G:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Two or More Races)		
Two or More Races 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	6,284	
Employed	5,883	93.6%
Unemployed	401	6.4%
SE:A17006H:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	30,193	
Employed	28,738	95.2%
Unemployed	1,455	4.8%
SE:A17006I:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	39,350	

Employed	37,746	95.9%
Unemployed	1,604	4.1%
ACS20_5yr:B27001:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	160,505	
Male:	78,956	49.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	69,167	87.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	9,789	12.4%
Female:	81,549	50.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	72,571	89.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	8,978	11.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001B:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	13,118	
Under 19 Years:	3,489	26.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	3,173	24.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	316	2.4%
19 To 64 Years:	8,329	63.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	7,383	56.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	946	7.2%
65 Years And Over:	1,300	9.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,300	9.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001C:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	441	
Under 19 Years:	73	16.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	62	14.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	11	2.5%
19 To 64 Years:	325	73.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	245	55.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	80	18.1%
65 Years And Over:	43	9.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	43	9.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001D:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,637	

Under 19 Years:	533	20.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	520	19.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	13	0.5%
19 To 64 Years:	1,765	66.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,562	59.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	203	7.7%
65 Years And Over:	339	12.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	301	11.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	38	1.4%
ACS20_5yr:C27001E:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	412	
Under 19 Years:	32	7.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	32	7.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
19 To 64 Years:	278	67.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	231	56.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	47	11.4%
65 Years And Over:	102	24.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	102	24.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001F:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	14,136	
Under 19 Years:	4,209	29.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	3,820	27.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	389	2.8%
19 To 64 Years:	8,641	61.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	6,865	48.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,776	12.6%
65 Years And Over:	1,286	9.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,014	7.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	272	1.9%
ACS20_5yr:C27001G:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	13,884	
Under 19 Years:	5,295	38.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4,885	35.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	410	3.0%

19 To 64 Years:	7,711	55.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	5,714	41.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,997	14.4%
65 Years And Over:	878	6.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	878	6.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001H:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	79,604	
Under 19 Years:	18,261	22.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	17,394	21.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	867	1.1%
19 To 64 Years:	46,428	58.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	40,865	51.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	5,563	7.0%
65 Years And Over:	14,915	18.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	14,888	18.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	27	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001I:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	61,904	
Under 19 Years:	19,783	32.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	17,947	29.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,836	3.0%
19 To 64 Years:	36,696	59.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	28,532	46.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	8,164	13.2%
65 Years And Over:	5,425	8.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	5,040	8.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	385	0.6%
ACS20_5yr:B25003:Tenure		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	55,710	
Owner Occupied	43,073	77.3%
Renter Occupied	12,637	22.7%
ACS20_5yr:B25003B:Tenure (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	4,803	
Owner Occupied	3,365	70.1%

Renter Occupied	1,438	29.9%
ACS20_5yr:B25003C:Tenure (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	139	
Owner Occupied	128	92.1%
Renter Occupied	11	7.9%
ACS20_5yr:B25003D:Tenure (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	711	
Owner Occupied	619	87.1%
Renter Occupied	92	12.9%
ACS20_5yr:B25003E:Tenure (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	93	
Owner Occupied	51	54.8%
Renter Occupied	42	45.2%
ACS20_5yr:B25003F:Tenure (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	4,165	
Owner Occupied	2,756	66.2%
Renter Occupied	1,409	33.8%
ACS20_5yr:B25003G:Tenure (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	3,222	
Owner Occupied	2,528	78.5%
Renter Occupied	694	21.5%
ACS20_5yr:B25003H:Tenure (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	31,909	
Owner Occupied	25,776	80.8%
Renter Occupied	6,133	19.2%
ACS20_5yr:B25003I:Tenure (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	17,193	
Owner Occupied	12,418	72.2%

Renter Occupied	4,775	27.8%
ACS20_5yr:B19013:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$75,774	
ACS20_5yr:B19013B:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$72,264	
ACS20_5yr:B19013C:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$50,150	
ACS20_5yr:B19013D:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$90,448	
ACS20_5yr:B19013E:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$109,479	
ACS20_5yr:B19013F:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$53,738	
ACS20_5yr:B19013G:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Two or More Races Householder)		

	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$83,056	
ACS20_5yr:B19013H:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$82,033	
ACS20_5yr:B19013I:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$62,945	

	American Community Survey (ACS) 2016- 2020 (5-Year Estimates)	
	El Paso County, Texas	
SE:B04001:Hispanic or Latino by Race (Collapsed Version)		
Total Population:	836,915	
Not Hispanic or Latino:	144,995	17.3%
White Alone	98,336	11.7%
Black or African American Alone	24,122	2.9%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	2,349	0.3%
Asian Alone	9,433	1.1%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	1,178	0.1%
Some Other Race Alone	472	0.1%
Two or More Races	9,105	1.1%
Hispanic or Latino	691,920	82.7%
ACS20_5yr:B15003:Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	514,164	
No Schooling Completed	16,216	3.2%
Nursery School	197	0.0%
Kindergarten	80	0.0%
1St Grade	875	0.2%
2Nd Grade	2,001	0.4%
3Rd Grade	4,405	0.9%
4Th Grade	3,063	0.6%
5Th Grade	4,172	0.8%
6Th Grade	21,657	4.2%
7Th Grade	3,002	0.6%
8Th Grade	7,702	1.5%
9Th Grade	14,938	2.9%
10Th Grade	7,629	1.5%
11Th Grade	8,600	1.7%
12Th Grade, No Diploma	13,673	2.7%
Regular High School Diploma	89,190	17.3%
Ged or Alternative Credential	29,877	5.8%
Some College, Less Than 1 Year	32,454	6.3%
Some College, 1 or More Years, No Degree	85,013	16.5%

Associate's Degree	45,877	8.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	123,543	24.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002B:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	16,834	
Male:	10,223	60.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	395	2.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	2,110	12.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	4,681	27.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	3,037	18.0%
Female:	6,611	39.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	234	1.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,276	7.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	3,108	18.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,993	11.8%
ACS20_5yr:C15002D:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	7,222	
Male:	3,254	45.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	133	1.8%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	449	6.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	778	10.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,894	26.2%
Female:	3,968	54.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	627	8.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	807	11.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	681	9.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,853	25.7%
ACS20_5yr:C15002C:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,846	
Male:	1,573	55.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	314	11.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	435	15.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	501	17.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	323	11.3%
Female:	1,273	44.7%

Less Than High School Diploma	190	6.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	361	12.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	481	16.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	241	8.5%
ACS20_5yr:C15002E:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	608	
Male:	273	44.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	71	11.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	171	28.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	31	5.1%
Female:	335	55.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	10	1.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	63	10.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	165	27.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	97	16.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002F:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	71,146	
Male:	34,320	48.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	10,785	15.2%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	10,312	14.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	8,615	12.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	4,608	6.5%
Female:	36,826	51.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	14,101	19.8%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	8,371	11.8%
Some College or Associate's Degree	9,464	13.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	4,890	6.9%
ACS20_5yr:C15002G:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	57,073	
Male:	26,388	46.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	5,366	9.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	5,967	10.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	8,553	15.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	6,502	11.4%

Female:	30,685	53.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	7,376	12.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,557	11.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	9,500	16.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	7,252	12.7%
ACS20_5yr:C15002H:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	68,869	
Male:	37,354	54.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,578	2.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,658	9.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	14,115	20.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	15,003	21.8%
Female:	31,515	45.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,571	2.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,241	9.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	9,974	14.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	13,729	19.9%
ACS20_5yr:C15002I:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	416,844	
Male:	193,084	46.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	44,076	10.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	50,994	12.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	60,737	14.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	37,277	8.9%
Female:	223,760	53.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	59,375	14.2%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	49,847	12.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	67,501	16.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	47,037	11.3%
SE:A17005:Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over		
Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over:	378,287	
Employed	354,788	93.8%
Unemployed	23,499	6.2%
SE:A17006B:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)		

Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	11,266	
Employed	10,194	90.5%
Unemployed	1,072	9.5%
SE:A17006C:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)		
American Indian and Alaska Native 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	1,949	
Employed	1,773	91.0%
Unemployed	176	9.0%
SE:A17006D:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Asian Alone)		
Asian 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	4,917	
Employed	4,689	95.4%
Unemployed	228	4.6%
SE:A17006E:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	576	
Employed	576	100.0%
Unemployed	0	0.0%
SE:A17006F:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
Some Other Race 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	50,999	
Employed	47,337	92.8%
Unemployed	3,662	7.2%
SE:A17006G:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Two or More Races)		
Two or More Races 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	42,869	
Employed	39,046	91.1%
Unemployed	3,823	8.9%
SE:A17006H:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	317,324	
Employed	297,273	93.7%
Unemployed	20,051	6.3%
SE:A17006I:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	41,712	

Employed	39,538	94.8%
Unemployed	2,174	5.2%
ACS20_5yr:B27001:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	813,208	
Male:	392,678	48.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	310,524	79.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	82,154	20.9%
Female:	420,530	51.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	335,775	79.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	84,755	20.2%
ACS20_5yr:C27001B:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	22,560	
Under 19 Years:	6,609	29.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	6,179	27.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	430	1.9%
19 To 64 Years:	13,872	61.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	11,471	50.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	2,401	10.6%
65 Years And Over:	2,079	9.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2,079	9.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001C:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	4,429	
Under 19 Years:	1,299	29.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,172	26.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	127	2.9%
19 To 64 Years:	2,482	56.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,632	36.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	850	19.2%
65 Years And Over:	648	14.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	640	14.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	8	0.2%
ACS20_5yr:C27001D:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	10,033	

Under 19 Years:	2,430	24.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2,227	22.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	203	2.0%
19 To 64 Years:	6,385	63.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	5,471	54.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	914	9.1%
65 Years And Over:	1,218	12.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,137	11.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	81	0.8%
ACS20_5yr:C27001E:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,186	
Under 19 Years:	437	36.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	408	34.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	29	2.4%
19 To 64 Years:	692	58.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	597	50.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	95	8.0%
65 Years And Over:	57	4.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	57	4.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001F:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	108,504	
Under 19 Years:	29,882	27.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	25,831	23.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	4,051	3.7%
19 To 64 Years:	64,773	59.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	37,122	34.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	27,651	25.5%
65 Years And Over:	13,849	12.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	13,101	12.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	748	0.7%
ACS20_5yr:C27001G:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	99,666	
Under 19 Years:	34,033	34.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	30,410	30.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	3,623	3.6%

19 To 64 Years:	55,564	55.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	36,209	36.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	19,355	19.4%
65 Years And Over:	10,069	10.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	9,911	9.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	158	0.2%
ACS20_5yr:C27001H:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	88,969	
Under 19 Years:	19,422	21.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	18,265	20.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,157	1.3%
19 To 64 Years:	51,451	57.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	43,684	49.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	7,767	8.7%
65 Years And Over:	18,096	20.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	18,000	20.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	96	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001I:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	683,543	
Under 19 Years:	208,930	30.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	186,398	27.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	22,532	3.3%
19 To 64 Years:	396,269	58.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	268,268	39.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	128,001	18.7%
65 Years And Over:	78,344	11.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	75,935	11.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	2,409	0.4%
ACS20_5yr:B25003:Tenure		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	273,662	
Owner Occupied	170,433	62.3%
Renter Occupied	103,229	37.7%
ACS20_5yr:B25003B:Tenure (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	9,971	
Owner Occupied	4,290	43.0%

Renter Occupied	5,681	57.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003C:Tenure (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,594	
Owner Occupied	875	54.9%
Renter Occupied	719	45.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003D:Tenure (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	4,090	
Owner Occupied	1,953	47.8%
Renter Occupied	2,137	52.2%
ACS20_5yr:B25003E:Tenure (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	316	
Owner Occupied	177	56.0%
Renter Occupied	139	44.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003F:Tenure (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	34,866	
Owner Occupied	18,983	54.4%
Renter Occupied	15,883	45.6%
ACS20_5yr:B25003G:Tenure (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	30,258	
Owner Occupied	19,554	64.6%
Renter Occupied	10,704	35.4%
ACS20_5yr:B25003H:Tenure (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	41,446	
Owner Occupied	25,766	62.2%
Renter Occupied	15,680	37.8%
ACS20_5yr:B25003I:Tenure (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	215,597	
Owner Occupied	137,076	63.6%

Renter Occupied	78,521	36.4%
ACS20_5yr:B19013:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$48,292	
ACS20_5yr:B19013B:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$54,656	
ACS20_5yr:B19013C:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$45,208	
ACS20_5yr:B19013D:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$58,581	
ACS20_5yr:B19013E:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$48,654	
ACS20_5yr:B19013F:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$38,238	
ACS20_5yr:B19013G:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Two or More Races Householder)		

	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$44,188	
ACS20_5yr:B19013H:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$66,229	
ACS20_5yr:B19013I:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$44,100	

	American Community Survey (ACS) 2016- -2020 (5-Year Estimates)	
	Dallas County, Texas	
SE:B04001:Hispanic or Latino by Race (Collapsed Version)		
Total Population:	2,622,634	
Not Hispanic or Latino:	1,567,585	59.8%
White Alone	749,571	28.6%
Black or African American Alone	585,014	22.3%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	5,152	0.2%
Asian Alone	169,259	6.5%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	883	0.0%
Some Other Race Alone	6,120	0.2%
Two or More Races	51,586	2.0%
Hispanic or Latino	1,055,049	40.2%
ACS20_5yr:B15003:Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,686,671	
No Schooling Completed	46,048	2.7%
Nursery School	382	0.0%
Kindergarten	516	0.0%
1St Grade	2,561	0.2%
2Nd Grade	5,508	0.3%
3Rd Grade	13,419	0.8%
4Th Grade	6,381	0.4%
5Th Grade	9,565	0.6%
6Th Grade	56,448	3.3%
7Th Grade	11,764	0.7%
8Th Grade	26,863	1.6%
9Th Grade	54,143	3.2%
10Th Grade	31,236	1.9%
11Th Grade	32,054	1.9%
12Th Grade, No Diploma	34,577	2.1%
Regular High School Diploma	324,101	19.2%
Ged or Alternative Credential	56,272	3.3%
Some College, Less Than 1 Year	87,771	5.2%
Some College, 1 or More Years, No Degree	240,083	14.2%

Associate's Degree	99,082	5.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	547,897	32.5%
ACS20_5yr:C15002B:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	384,544	
Male:	168,880	43.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	17,849	4.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	53,113	13.8%
Some College or Associate's Degree	59,563	15.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	38,355	10.0%
Female:	215,664	56.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	19,598	5.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	57,770	15.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	81,840	21.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	56,456	14.7%
ACS20_5yr:C15002D:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	117,770	
Male:	58,185	49.4%
Less Than High School Diploma	5,865	5.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,409	5.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	8,516	7.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	37,395	31.8%
Female:	59,585	50.6%
Less Than High School Diploma	9,314	7.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	7,866	6.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	8,239	7.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	34,166	29.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002C:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	6,817	
Male:	3,314	48.6%
Less Than High School Diploma	741	10.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	917	13.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,221	17.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	435	6.4%
Female:	3,503	51.4%

Less Than High School Diploma	733	10.8%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	927	13.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,136	16.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	707	10.4%
ACS20_5yr:C15002E:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	857	
Male:	460	53.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	13	1.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	139	16.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	106	12.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	202	23.6%
Female:	397	46.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	10	1.2%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	83	9.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	184	21.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	120	14.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002F:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	114,954	
Male:	59,590	51.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	29,185	25.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	15,494	13.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	9,533	8.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	5,378	4.7%
Female:	55,364	48.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	25,226	21.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	15,035	13.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	8,728	7.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	6,375	5.5%
ACS20_5yr:C15002G:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	87,889	
Male:	43,123	49.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	13,375	15.2%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	9,676	11.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	9,458	10.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	10,614	12.1%

Female:	44,766	50.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	10,794	12.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	9,748	11.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	11,377	12.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	12,847	14.6%
ACS20_5yr:C15002H:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	584,682	
Male:	285,181	48.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	13,887	2.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	48,254	8.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	72,123	12.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	150,917	25.8%
Female:	299,501	51.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	13,938	2.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	53,206	9.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	83,314	14.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	149,043	25.5%
ACS20_5yr:C15002I:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	569,220	
Male:	291,074	51.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	134,243	23.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	75,754	13.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	49,114	8.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	31,963	5.6%
Female:	278,146	48.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	114,575	20.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	72,868	12.8%
Some College or Associate's Degree	54,365	9.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	36,338	6.4%
SE:A17005:Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over		
Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over:	1,384,986	
Employed	1,315,440	95.0%
Unemployed	69,546	5.0%
SE:A17006B:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)		

Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	310,383	
Employed	285,686	92.0%
Unemployed	24,697	8.0%
SE:A17006C:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)		
American Indian and Alaska Native 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	5,967	
Employed	5,591	93.7%
Unemployed	376	6.3%
SE:A17006D:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Asian Alone)		
Asian 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	91,761	
Employed	88,551	96.5%
Unemployed	3,210	3.5%
SE:A17006E:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	699	
Employed	692	99.0%
Unemployed	7	1.0%
SE:A17006F:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
Some Other Race 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	103,580	
Employed	96,983	93.6%
Unemployed	6,597	6.4%
SE:A17006G:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Two or More Races)		
Two or More Races 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	83,538	
Employed	78,621	94.1%
Unemployed	4,917	5.9%
SE:A17006H:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	518,427	
Employed	493,842	95.3%
Unemployed	24,585	4.7%
SE:A17006I:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	438,178	

Employed	422,152	96.3%
Unemployed	16,026	3.7%
ACS20_5yr:B27001:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,604,524	
Male:	1,280,325	49.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	995,827	77.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	284,498	22.2%
Female:	1,324,199	50.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,066,061	80.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	258,138	19.5%
ACS20_5yr:C27001B:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	586,663	
Under 19 Years:	160,261	27.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	147,159	25.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	13,102	2.2%
19 To 64 Years:	369,368	63.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	289,719	49.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	79,649	13.6%
65 Years And Over:	57,034	9.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	56,310	9.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	724	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001C:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	10,206	
Under 19 Years:	2,446	24.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2,153	21.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	293	2.9%
19 To 64 Years:	6,773	66.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4,365	42.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	2,408	23.6%
65 Years And Over:	987	9.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	980	9.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	7	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001D:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	170,787	

Under 19 Years:	40,939	24.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	38,454	22.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	2,485	1.5%
19 To 64 Years:	113,984	66.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	97,539	57.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	16,445	9.6%
65 Years And Over:	15,864	9.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	15,185	8.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	679	0.4%
ACS20_5yr:C27001E:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,128	
Under 19 Years:	178	15.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	178	15.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
19 To 64 Years:	887	78.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	686	60.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	201	17.8%
65 Years And Over:	63	5.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	55	4.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	8	0.7%
ACS20_5yr:C27001F:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	198,771	
Under 19 Years:	65,799	33.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	50,497	25.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	15,302	7.7%
19 To 64 Years:	120,641	60.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	64,773	32.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	55,868	28.1%
65 Years And Over:	12,331	6.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	10,532	5.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,799	0.9%
ACS20_5yr:C27001G:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	171,091	
Under 19 Years:	66,553	38.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	57,980	33.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	8,573	5.0%

19 To 64 Years:	97,338	56.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	63,127	36.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	34,211	20.0%
65 Years And Over:	7,200	4.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	6,987	4.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	213	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001H:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	742,652	
Under 19 Years:	119,560	16.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	110,432	14.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	9,128	1.2%
19 To 64 Years:	474,757	63.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	415,545	56.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	59,212	8.0%
65 Years And Over:	148,335	20.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	147,780	19.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	555	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001I:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,051,157	
Under 19 Years:	381,541	36.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	308,668	29.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	72,873	6.9%
19 To 64 Years:	619,410	58.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	342,669	32.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	276,741	26.3%
65 Years And Over:	50,206	4.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	45,018	4.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	5,188	0.5%
ACS20_5yr:B25003:Tenure		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	945,996	
Owner Occupied	476,375	50.4%
Renter Occupied	469,621	49.6%
ACS20_5yr:B25003B:Tenure (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	234,836	
Owner Occupied	83,125	35.4%

Renter Occupied	151,711	64.6%
ACS20_5yr:B25003C:Tenure (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	3,509	
Owner Occupied	1,963	55.9%
Renter Occupied	1,546	44.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003D:Tenure (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	59,643	
Owner Occupied	30,409	51.0%
Renter Occupied	29,234	49.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003E:Tenure (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	605	
Owner Occupied	350	57.9%
Renter Occupied	255	42.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003F:Tenure (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	55,214	
Owner Occupied	25,412	46.0%
Renter Occupied	29,802	54.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003G:Tenure (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	48,053	
Owner Occupied	24,047	50.0%
Renter Occupied	24,006	50.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003H:Tenure (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	350,344	
Owner Occupied	215,424	61.5%
Renter Occupied	134,920	38.5%
ACS20_5yr:B25003I:Tenure (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	282,614	
Owner Occupied	139,746	49.4%

Renter Occupied	142,868	50.6%
ACS20_5yr:B19013:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$61,870	
ACS20_5yr:B19013B:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$46,623	
ACS20_5yr:B19013C:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$55,615	
ACS20_5yr:B19013D:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$85,356	
ACS20_5yr:B19013E:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$81,580	
ACS20_5yr:B19013F:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$50,273	
ACS20_5yr:B19013G:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Two or More Races Householder)		

	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$63,253	
ACS20_5yr:B19013H:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$84,062	
ACS20_5yr:B19013I:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$52,635	

	American Community Survey (ACS) 2016- 2020 (5-Year Estimates)	
	Comal County, Texas	
SE:B04001:Hispanic or Latino by Race (Collapsed Version)		
Total Population:	148,921	
Not Hispanic or Latino:	107,628	72.3%
White Alone	99,164	66.6%
Black or African American Alone	3,169	2.1%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	97	0.1%
Asian Alone	1,658	1.1%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	65	0.0%
Some Other Race Alone	638	0.4%
Two or More Races	2,837	1.9%
Hispanic or Latino	41,293	27.7%
ACS20_5yr:B15003:Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	103,971	
No Schooling Completed	1,133	1.1%
Nursery School	9	0.0%
Kindergarten	7	0.0%
1St Grade	37	0.0%
2Nd Grade	7	0.0%
3Rd Grade	91	0.1%
4Th Grade	152	0.1%
5Th Grade	202	0.2%
6Th Grade	297	0.3%
7Th Grade	284	0.3%
8Th Grade	465	0.4%
9Th Grade	937	0.9%
10Th Grade	993	1.0%
11Th Grade	763	0.7%
12Th Grade, No Diploma	1,200	1.2%
Regular High School Diploma	22,240	21.4%
Ged or Alternative Credential	4,199	4.0%
Some College, Less Than 1 Year	7,670	7.4%
Some College, 1 or More Years, No Degree	16,664	16.0%

Associate's Degree	7,198	6.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	39,423	37.9%
ACS20_5yr:C15002B:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,261	
Male:	1,213	53.6%
Less Than High School Diploma	131	5.8%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	135	6.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	457	20.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	490	21.7%
Female:	1,048	46.4%
Less Than High School Diploma	9	0.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	72	3.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	464	20.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	503	22.2%
ACS20_5yr:C15002D:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,203	
Male:	436	36.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	32	2.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	77	6.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	49	4.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	278	23.1%
Female:	767	63.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	104	8.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	179	14.9%
Some College or Associate's Degree	105	8.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	379	31.5%
ACS20_5yr:C15002C:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	345	
Male:	246	71.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	13	3.8%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	93	27.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	28	8.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	112	32.5%
Female:	99	28.7%

Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	81	23.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	16	4.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	2	0.6%
ACS20_5yr:C15002E:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	65	
Male:	54	83.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	0.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	54	83.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%
Female:	11	16.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	0.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	11	16.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002F:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,831	
Male:	1,117	39.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	190	6.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	479	16.9%
Some College or Associate's Degree	257	9.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	191	6.7%
Female:	1,714	60.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	355	12.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	491	17.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	617	21.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	251	8.9%
ACS20_5yr:C15002G:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	5,631	
Male:	2,657	47.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	394	7.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	778	13.8%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,057	18.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	428	7.6%

Female:	2,974	52.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	118	2.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	824	14.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	836	14.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,196	21.2%
ACS20_5yr:C15002H:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	73,780	
Male:	36,063	48.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,163	1.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	8,533	11.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	10,738	14.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	15,629	21.2%
Female:	37,717	51.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,184	1.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	8,933	12.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	11,586	15.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	16,014	21.7%
ACS20_5yr:C15002I:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	24,529	
Male:	12,085	49.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	2,066	8.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	4,339	17.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	3,374	13.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	2,306	9.4%
Female:	12,444	50.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,891	7.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	3,823	15.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	3,539	14.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	3,191	13.0%
SE:A17005:Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over		
Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over:	71,671	
Employed	68,783	96.0%
Unemployed	2,888	4.0%
SE:A17006B:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)		

Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	1,700	
Employed	1,690	99.4%
Unemployed	10	0.6%
SE:A17006C:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)		
American Indian and Alaska Native 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	217	
Employed	196	90.3%
Unemployed	21	9.7%
SE:A17006D:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Asian Alone)		
Asian 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	686	
Employed	666	97.1%
Unemployed	20	2.9%
SE:A17006E:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	54	
Employed	54	100.0%
Unemployed	0	0.0%
SE:A17006F:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
Some Other Race 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	1,730	
Employed	1,667	96.4%
Unemployed	63	3.6%
SE:A17006G:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Two or More Races)		
Two or More Races 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	4,065	
Employed	3,604	88.7%
Unemployed	461	11.3%
SE:A17006H:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	20,176	
Employed	19,045	94.4%
Unemployed	1,131	5.6%
SE:A17006I:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	47,837	

Employed	46,169	96.5%
Unemployed	1,668	3.5%
ACS20_5yr:B27001:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	147,645	
Male:	72,974	49.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	64,831	88.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	8,143	11.2%
Female:	74,671	50.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	66,840	89.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	7,831	10.5%
ACS20_5yr:C27001B:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	3,201	
Under 19 Years:	696	21.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	660	20.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	36	1.1%
19 To 64 Years:	2,132	66.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,803	56.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	329	10.3%
65 Years And Over:	373	11.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	373	11.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001C:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	376	
Under 19 Years:	26	6.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	26	6.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
19 To 64 Years:	317	84.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	204	54.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	113	30.1%
65 Years And Over:	33	8.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	33	8.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001D:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,739	

Under 19 Years:	342	19.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	323	18.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	19	1.1%
19 To 64 Years:	1,100	63.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	905	52.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	195	11.2%
65 Years And Over:	297	17.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	297	17.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001E:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	54	
Under 19 Years:	0	0.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
19 To 64 Years:	43	79.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	43	79.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
65 Years And Over:	11	20.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	11	20.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001F:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	4,623	
Under 19 Years:	1,528	33.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,470	31.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	58	1.3%
19 To 64 Years:	2,432	52.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,787	38.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	645	14.0%
65 Years And Over:	663	14.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	663	14.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001G:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	9,079	
Under 19 Years:	2,891	31.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2,794	30.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	97	1.1%

19 To 64 Years:	5,315	58.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4,299	47.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,016	11.2%
65 Years And Over:	873	9.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	873	9.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001H:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	98,220	
Under 19 Years:	20,259	20.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	18,772	19.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,487	1.5%
19 To 64 Years:	56,318	57.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	49,506	50.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	6,812	6.9%
65 Years And Over:	21,643	22.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	21,609	22.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	34	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001I:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	41,021	
Under 19 Years:	13,243	32.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	12,183	29.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,060	2.6%
19 To 64 Years:	24,049	58.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	18,221	44.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	5,828	14.2%
65 Years And Over:	3,729	9.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	3,696	9.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	33	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003:Tenure		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	54,586	
Owner Occupied	40,865	74.9%
Renter Occupied	13,721	25.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003B:Tenure (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,152	
Owner Occupied	874	75.9%

Renter Occupied	278	24.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003C:Tenure (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	181	
Owner Occupied	132	72.9%
Renter Occupied	49	27.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003D:Tenure (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	290	
Owner Occupied	188	64.8%
Renter Occupied	102	35.2%
ACS20_5yr:B25003E:Tenure (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	54	
Owner Occupied	54	100.0%
Renter Occupied	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003F:Tenure (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,034	
Owner Occupied	685	66.2%
Renter Occupied	349	33.8%
ACS20_5yr:B25003G:Tenure (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,311	
Owner Occupied	1,434	62.1%
Renter Occupied	877	37.9%
ACS20_5yr:B25003H:Tenure (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	40,661	
Owner Occupied	31,868	78.4%
Renter Occupied	8,793	21.6%
ACS20_5yr:B25003I:Tenure (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	11,360	
Owner Occupied	7,019	61.8%

Renter Occupied	4,341	38.2%
ACS20_5yr:B19013:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$80,781	
ACS20_5yr:B19013B:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$94,250	
ACS20_5yr:B19013C:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$88,750	
ACS20_5yr:B19013D:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$88,919	
ACS20_5yr:B19013E:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
ACS20_5yr:B19013F:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
ACS20_5yr:B19013G:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Two or More Races Householder)		

	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$55,536	
ACS20_5yr:B19013H:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$86,163	
ACS20_5yr:B19013I:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$57,375	

	American Community Survey (ACS) 2016- -2020 (5-Year Estimates)	
	Bell County, Texas	
SE:B04001:Hispanic or Latino by Race (Collapsed Version)		
Total Population:	355,700	
Not Hispanic or Latino:	265,575	74.7%
White Alone	158,981	44.7%
Black or African American Alone	77,218	21.7%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	837	0.2%
Asian Alone	9,557	2.7%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	2,211	0.6%
Some Other Race Alone	745	0.2%
Two or More Races	16,026	4.5%
Hispanic or Latino	90,125	25.3%
ACS20_5yr:B15003:Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	216,686	
No Schooling Completed	2,784	1.3%
Nursery School	89	0.0%
Kindergarten	0	0.0%
1St Grade	33	0.0%
2Nd Grade	419	0.2%
3Rd Grade	351	0.2%
4Th Grade	375	0.2%
5Th Grade	399	0.2%
6Th Grade	1,348	0.6%
7Th Grade	670	0.3%
8Th Grade	1,383	0.6%
9Th Grade	2,070	1.0%

10Th Grade	2,836	1.3%
11Th Grade	3,756	1.7%
12Th Grade, No Diploma	3,122	1.4%
Regular High School Diploma	45,425	21.0%
Ged or Alternative Credential	10,344	4.8%
Some College, Less Than 1 Year	17,741	8.2%
Some College, 1 or More Years, No Degree	43,591	20.1%
Associate's Degree	25,058	11.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	54,892	25.3%
ACS20_5yr:C15002B:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	49,214	
Male:	23,933	48.6%
Less Than High School Diploma	2,204	4.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,508	13.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	10,924	22.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	4,297	8.7%
Female:	25,281	51.4%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,916	3.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	5,444	11.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	12,201	24.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	5,720	11.6%

ACS20_5yr:C15002D:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	7,403	
Male:	2,552	34.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	166	2.2%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	640	8.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	708	9.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,038	14.0%
Female:	4,851	65.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	774	10.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,298	17.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,443	19.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,336	18.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002C:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,062	
Male:	453	42.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	75	7.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	220	20.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	134	12.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	24	2.3%
Female:	609	57.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	42	4.0%

High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	132	12.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	223	21.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	212	20.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002E:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,447	
Male:	696	48.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	31	2.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	204	14.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	389	26.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	72	5.0%
Female:	751	51.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	81	5.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	283	19.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	349	24.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	38	2.6%
ACS20_5yr:C15002F:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	6,582	
Male:	3,254	49.4%
Less Than High School Diploma	544	8.3%

High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,294	19.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,002	15.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	414	6.3%
Female:	3,328	50.6%
Less Than High School Diploma	526	8.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	814	12.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,324	20.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	664	10.1%
ACS20_5yr:C15002G:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	13,141	
Male:	6,303	48.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	657	5.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,612	12.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	3,134	23.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	900	6.8%
Female:	6,838	52.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	856	6.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,421	10.8%
Some College or Associate's Degree	3,117	23.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,444	11.0%

ACS20_5yr:C15002H:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	107,932	
Male:	52,622	48.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	2,597	2.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	13,168	12.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	20,694	19.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	16,163	15.0%
Female:	55,310	51.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	3,112	2.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	14,015	13.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	20,482	19.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	17,701	16.4%
ACS20_5yr:C15002I:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	47,137	
Male:	23,308	49.4%
Less Than High School Diploma	4,509	9.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,932	14.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	8,189	17.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	3,678	7.8%
Female:	23,829	50.6%
Less Than High School Diploma	4,394	9.3%

High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,373	13.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	9,228	19.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	3,834	8.1%
SE:A17005:Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over		
Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over:	157,387	
Employed	145,646	92.5%
Unemployed	11,741	7.5%
SE:A17006B:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)		
Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	37,524	
Employed	33,527	89.3%
Unemployed	3,997	10.7%
SE:A17006C:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)		
American Indian and Alaska Native 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	854	
Employed	811	95.0%
Unemployed	43	5.0%
SE:A17006D:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Asian Alone)		
Asian 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	4,775	

Employed	4,396	92.1%
Unemployed	379	7.9%
SE:A17006E:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	985	
Employed	910	92.4%
Unemployed	75	7.6%
SE:A17006F:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
Some Other Race 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	5,005	
Employed	4,683	93.6%
Unemployed	322	6.4%
SE:A17006G:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Two or More Races)		
Two or More Races 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	10,624	
Employed	9,822	92.5%
Unemployed	802	7.5%
SE:A17006H:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	38,517	
Employed	36,143	93.8%
Unemployed	2,374	6.2%

SE:A17006I:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	72,377	
Employed	67,827	93.7%
Unemployed	4,550	6.3%
ACS20_5yr:B27001:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	334,462	
Male:	158,995	47.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	135,554	85.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	23,441	14.7%
Female:	175,467	52.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	153,765	87.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	21,702	12.4%
ACS20_5yr:C27001B:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	80,504	
Under 19 Years:	27,463	34.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	26,468	32.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	995	1.2%
19 To 64 Years:	47,900	59.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	39,747	49.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	8,153	10.1%
65 Years And Over:	5,141	6.4%

With Health Insurance Coverage	5,047	6.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	94	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001C:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,654	
Under 19 Years:	422	25.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	301	18.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	121	7.3%
19 To 64 Years:	1,045	63.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	712	43.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	333	20.1%
65 Years And Over:	187	11.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	154	9.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	33	2.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001D:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	9,305	
Under 19 Years:	1,761	18.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,650	17.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	111	1.2%
19 To 64 Years:	5,854	62.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	5,010	53.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	844	9.1%
65 Years And Over:	1,690	18.2%

With Health Insurance Coverage	1,658	17.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	32	0.3%
ACS20_5yr:C27001E:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,181	
Under 19 Years:	629	28.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	507	23.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	122	5.6%
19 To 64 Years:	1,433	65.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,101	50.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	332	15.2%
65 Years And Over:	119	5.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	119	5.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001F:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	10,376	
Under 19 Years:	3,147	30.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2,837	27.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	310	3.0%
19 To 64 Years:	6,085	58.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4,730	45.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,355	13.1%
65 Years And Over:	1,144	11.0%

With Health Insurance Coverage	1,134	10.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	10	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001G:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	26,977	
Under 19 Years:	12,712	47.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	11,601	43.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,111	4.1%
19 To 64 Years:	13,257	49.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	9,565	35.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	3,692	13.7%
65 Years And Over:	1,008	3.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	966	3.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	42	0.2%
ACS20_5yr:C27001H:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	148,655	
Under 19 Years:	36,123	24.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	34,028	22.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	2,095	1.4%
19 To 64 Years:	87,241	58.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	73,140	49.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	14,101	9.5%
65 Years And Over:	25,291	17.0%

With Health Insurance Coverage	25,223	17.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	68	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001I:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	85,796	
Under 19 Years:	32,955	38.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	30,084	35.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	2,871	3.3%
19 To 64 Years:	48,052	56.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	33,687	39.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	14,365	16.7%
65 Years And Over:	4,789	5.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4,674	5.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	115	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003:Tenure		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	125,747	
Owner Occupied	67,893	54.0%
Renter Occupied	57,854	46.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003B:Tenure (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	31,176	
Owner Occupied	12,837	41.2%
Renter Occupied	18,339	58.8%

ACS20_5yr:B25003C:Tenure (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	525	
Owner Occupied	281	53.5%
Renter Occupied	244	46.5%
ACS20_5yr:B25003D:Tenure (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	3,577	
Owner Occupied	1,889	52.8%
Renter Occupied	1,688	47.2%
ACS20_5yr:B25003E:Tenure (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	932	
Owner Occupied	479	51.4%
Renter Occupied	453	48.6%
ACS20_5yr:B25003F:Tenure (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	3,449	
Owner Occupied	1,874	54.3%
Renter Occupied	1,575	45.7%
ACS20_5yr:B25003G:Tenure (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	6,397	
Owner Occupied	2,949	46.1%
Renter Occupied	3,448	53.9%
ACS20_5yr:B25003H:Tenure (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		

	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	63,272	
Owner Occupied	39,593	62.6%
Renter Occupied	23,679	37.4%
ACS20_5yr:B25003I:Tenure (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	25,804	
Owner Occupied	12,529	48.6%
Renter Occupied	13,275	51.4%
ACS20_5yr:B19013:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$54,987	
ACS20_5yr:B19013B:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$46,377	
ACS20_5yr:B19013C:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	

Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$49,432	
ACS20_5yr:B19013D:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$53,882	
ACS20_5yr:B19013E:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$63,182	
ACS20_5yr:B19013F:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$54,175	

ACS20_5yr:B19013G:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$49,020	
ACS20_5yr:B19013H:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$63,896	
ACS20_5yr:B19013I:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$47,994	

	American Community Survey (ACS) 2016- 2020 (5-Year Estimates)	
	Blanco County, Texas	
SE:B04001:Hispanic or Latino by Race (Collapsed Version)		
Total Population:	11,733	
Not Hispanic or Latino:	9,416	80.3%
White Alone	8,864	75.5%
Black or African American Alone	3	0.0%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	28	0.2%
Asian Alone	98	0.8%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	47	0.4%
Some Other Race Alone	0	0.0%
Two or More Races	376	3.2%
Hispanic or Latino	2,317	19.7%
ACS20_5yr:B15003:Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	8,919	
No Schooling Completed	75	0.8%
Nursery School	0	0.0%
Kindergarten	0	0.0%
1St Grade	11	0.1%
2Nd Grade	36	0.4%
3Rd Grade	0	0.0%
4Th Grade	0	0.0%
5Th Grade	29	0.3%
6Th Grade	106	1.2%
7Th Grade	27	0.3%
8Th Grade	120	1.3%
9Th Grade	48	0.5%
10Th Grade	88	1.0%
11Th Grade	128	1.4%
12Th Grade, No Diploma	80	0.9%
Regular High School Diploma	2,042	22.9%
Ged or Alternative Credential	413	4.6%
Some College, Less Than 1 Year	706	7.9%
Some College, 1 or More Years, No Degree	1,660	18.6%

Associate's Degree	839	9.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	2,511	28.2%
ACS20_5yr:C15002B:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	3	
Male:	3	100.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	2	66.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1	33.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%
Female:	0	0.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	0.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	0	0.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002D:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	98	
Male:	82	83.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	27	27.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	55	56.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%
Female:	16	16.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	0.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	6	6.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	10	10.2%
ACS20_5yr:C15002C:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	140	
Male:	72	51.4%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	43	30.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	14	10.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	15	10.7%
Female:	68	48.6%

Less Than High School Diploma	11	7.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	44	31.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	0	0.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	13	9.3%
ACS20_5yr:C15002E:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	47	
Male:	47	100.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	0.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	47	100.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%
Female:	0	0.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	0	0.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	0	0.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	0	0.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002F:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	354	
Male:	141	39.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	91	25.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	19	5.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	21	5.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	10	2.8%
Female:	213	60.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	25	7.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	68	19.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	44	12.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	76	21.5%
ACS20_5yr:C15002G:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	482	
Male:	211	43.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	69	14.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	36	7.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	106	22.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	0	0.0%

Female:	271	56.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	36	7.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	60	12.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	151	31.3%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	24	5.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002H:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	7,073	
Male:	3,428	48.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	101	1.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,003	14.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,230	17.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,094	15.5%
Female:	3,645	51.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	182	2.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	926	13.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,420	20.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,117	15.8%
ACS20_5yr:C15002I:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,431	
Male:	734	51.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	247	17.3%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	247	17.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	122	8.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	118	8.2%
Female:	697	48.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	210	14.7%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	229	16.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	138	9.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	120	8.4%
SE:A17005:Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over		
Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over:	6,041	
Employed	5,744	95.1%
Unemployed	297	4.9%
SE:A17006B:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)		

Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	0	
Employed	0	
Unemployed	0	
SE:A17006C:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)		
American Indian and Alaska Native 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	83	
Employed	83	100.0%
Unemployed	0	0.0%
SE:A17006D:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Asian Alone)		
Asian 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	70	
Employed	70	100.0%
Unemployed	0	0.0%
SE:A17006E:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	47	
Employed	0	0.0%
Unemployed	47	100.0%
SE:A17006F:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
Some Other Race 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	399	
Employed	378	94.7%
Unemployed	21	5.3%
SE:A17006G:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Two or More Races)		
Two or More Races 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	549	
Employed	549	100.0%
Unemployed	0	0.0%
SE:A17006H:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	1,303	
Employed	1,264	97.0%
Unemployed	39	3.0%
SE:A17006I:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	4,412	

Employed	4,201	95.2%
Unemployed	211	4.8%
ACS20_5yr:B27001:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	11,644	
Male:	5,898	50.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4,832	81.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,066	18.1%
Female:	5,746	49.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	5,120	89.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	626	10.9%
ACS20_5yr:C27001B:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1	
Under 19 Years:	0	0.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
19 To 64 Years:	1	100.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1	100.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
65 Years And Over:	0	0.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001C:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	167	
Under 19 Years:	27	16.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	18	10.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	9	5.4%
19 To 64 Years:	127	76.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	86	51.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	41	24.6%
65 Years And Over:	13	7.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	13	7.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001D:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	98	

Under 19 Years:	0	0.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
19 To 64 Years:	96	98.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	48	49.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	48	49.0%
65 Years And Over:	2	2.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2	2.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001E:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	47	
Under 19 Years:	0	0.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
19 To 64 Years:	47	100.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	47	100.0%
65 Years And Over:	0	0.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001F:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	521	
Under 19 Years:	71	13.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	71	13.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
19 To 64 Years:	447	85.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	304	58.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	143	27.4%
65 Years And Over:	3	0.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	3	0.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001G:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	896	
Under 19 Years:	352	39.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	318	35.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	34	3.8%

19 To 64 Years:	372	41.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	203	22.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	169	18.9%
65 Years And Over:	172	19.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	172	19.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001H:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	8,787	
Under 19 Years:	1,380	15.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,251	14.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	129	1.5%
19 To 64 Years:	4,842	55.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4,225	48.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	617	7.0%
65 Years And Over:	2,565	29.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2,555	29.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	10	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001I:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,307	
Under 19 Years:	671	29.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	515	22.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	156	6.8%
19 To 64 Years:	1,448	62.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	773	33.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	675	29.3%
65 Years And Over:	188	8.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	188	8.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003:Tenure		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	4,665	
Owner Occupied	3,643	78.1%
Renter Occupied	1,022	21.9%
ACS20_5yr:B25003B:Tenure (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	0	
Owner Occupied	0	13.33

Renter Occupied	0	13.33
ACS20_5yr:B25003C:Tenure (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	74	
Owner Occupied	74	100.0%
Renter Occupied	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003D:Tenure (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	30	
Owner Occupied	27	90.0%
Renter Occupied	3	10.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003E:Tenure (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	0	
Owner Occupied	0	13.33
Renter Occupied	0	13.33
ACS20_5yr:B25003F:Tenure (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	137	
Owner Occupied	127	92.7%
Renter Occupied	10	7.3%
ACS20_5yr:B25003G:Tenure (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	250	
Owner Occupied	168	67.2%
Renter Occupied	82	32.8%
ACS20_5yr:B25003H:Tenure (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	3,879	
Owner Occupied	3,022	77.9%
Renter Occupied	857	22.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003I:Tenure (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	632	
Owner Occupied	470	74.4%

Renter Occupied	162	25.6%
ACS20_5yr:B19013:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$70,397	
ACS20_5yr:B19013B:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
ACS20_5yr:B19013C:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$79,500	
ACS20_5yr:B19013D:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
ACS20_5yr:B19013E:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
ACS20_5yr:B19013F:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$91,182	
ACS20_5yr:B19013G:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Two or More Races Householder)		

	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$43,406	
ACS20_5yr:B19013H:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$70,966	
ACS20_5yr:B19013I:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$72,727	

	American Community Survey (ACS) 2016- -2020 (5-Year Estimates)	
	Bell County, Texas	
SE:B04001:Hispanic or Latino by Race (Collapsed Version)		
Total Population:	355,700	
Not Hispanic or Latino:	265,575	74.7%
White Alone	158,981	44.7%
Black or African American Alone	77,218	21.7%
American Indian and Alaska Native Alone	837	0.2%
Asian Alone	9,557	2.7%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone	2,211	0.6%
Some Other Race Alone	745	0.2%
Two or More Races	16,026	4.5%
Hispanic or Latino	90,125	25.3%
ACS20_5yr:B15003:Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	216,686	
No Schooling Completed	2,784	1.3%
Nursery School	89	0.0%
Kindergarten	0	0.0%
1St Grade	33	0.0%
2Nd Grade	419	0.2%
3Rd Grade	351	0.2%
4Th Grade	375	0.2%
5Th Grade	399	0.2%
6Th Grade	1,348	0.6%
7Th Grade	670	0.3%
8Th Grade	1,383	0.6%
9Th Grade	2,070	1.0%

10Th Grade	2,836	1.3%
11Th Grade	3,756	1.7%
12Th Grade, No Diploma	3,122	1.4%
Regular High School Diploma	45,425	21.0%
Ged or Alternative Credential	10,344	4.8%
Some College, Less Than 1 Year	17,741	8.2%
Some College, 1 or More Years, No Degree	43,591	20.1%
Associate's Degree	25,058	11.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	54,892	25.3%
ACS20_5yr:C15002B:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	49,214	
Male:	23,933	48.6%
Less Than High School Diploma	2,204	4.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,508	13.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	10,924	22.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	4,297	8.7%
Female:	25,281	51.4%
Less Than High School Diploma	1,916	3.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	5,444	11.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	12,201	24.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	5,720	11.6%

ACS20_5yr:C15002D:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	7,403	
Male:	2,552	34.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	166	2.2%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	640	8.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	708	9.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,038	14.0%
Female:	4,851	65.5%
Less Than High School Diploma	774	10.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,298	17.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,443	19.5%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,336	18.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002C:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,062	
Male:	453	42.7%
Less Than High School Diploma	75	7.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	220	20.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	134	12.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	24	2.3%
Female:	609	57.3%
Less Than High School Diploma	42	4.0%

High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	132	12.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	223	21.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	212	20.0%
ACS20_5yr:C15002E:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,447	
Male:	696	48.1%
Less Than High School Diploma	31	2.1%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	204	14.1%
Some College or Associate's Degree	389	26.9%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	72	5.0%
Female:	751	51.9%
Less Than High School Diploma	81	5.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	283	19.6%
Some College or Associate's Degree	349	24.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	38	2.6%
ACS20_5yr:C15002F:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	6,582	
Male:	3,254	49.4%
Less Than High School Diploma	544	8.3%

High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,294	19.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,002	15.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	414	6.3%
Female:	3,328	50.6%
Less Than High School Diploma	526	8.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	814	12.4%
Some College or Associate's Degree	1,324	20.1%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	664	10.1%
ACS20_5yr:C15002G:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	13,141	
Male:	6,303	48.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	657	5.0%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,612	12.3%
Some College or Associate's Degree	3,134	23.8%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	900	6.8%
Female:	6,838	52.0%
Less Than High School Diploma	856	6.5%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	1,421	10.8%
Some College or Associate's Degree	3,117	23.7%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	1,444	11.0%

ACS20_5yr:C15002H:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	107,932	
Male:	52,622	48.8%
Less Than High School Diploma	2,597	2.4%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	13,168	12.2%
Some College or Associate's Degree	20,694	19.2%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	16,163	15.0%
Female:	55,310	51.2%
Less Than High School Diploma	3,112	2.9%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	14,015	13.0%
Some College or Associate's Degree	20,482	19.0%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	17,701	16.4%
ACS20_5yr:C15002I:Sex By Educational Attainment For The Population 25 Years And Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	47,137	
Male:	23,308	49.4%
Less Than High School Diploma	4,509	9.6%
High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,932	14.7%
Some College or Associate's Degree	8,189	17.4%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	3,678	7.8%
Female:	23,829	50.6%
Less Than High School Diploma	4,394	9.3%

High School Graduate (Includes Equivalency)	6,373	13.5%
Some College or Associate's Degree	9,228	19.6%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	3,834	8.1%
SE:A17005:Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over		
Civilian Population in Labor Force 16 Years and Over:	157,387	
Employed	145,646	92.5%
Unemployed	11,741	7.5%
SE:A17006B:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Black or African American Alone)		
Black or African American 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	37,524	
Employed	33,527	89.3%
Unemployed	3,997	10.7%
SE:A17006C:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)		
American Indian and Alaska Native 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	854	
Employed	811	95.0%
Unemployed	43	5.0%
SE:A17006D:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Asian Alone)		
Asian 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	4,775	

Employed	4,396	92.1%
Unemployed	379	7.9%
SE:A17006E:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	985	
Employed	910	92.4%
Unemployed	75	7.6%
SE:A17006F:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Some Other Race Alone)		
Some Other Race 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	5,005	
Employed	4,683	93.6%
Unemployed	322	6.4%
SE:A17006G:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Two or More Races)		
Two or More Races 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	10,624	
Employed	9,822	92.5%
Unemployed	802	7.5%
SE:A17006H:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (Hispanic or Latino)		
Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	38,517	
Employed	36,143	93.8%
Unemployed	2,374	6.2%

SE:A17006I:Unemployment Rate for the Population 16 Years and Over (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino 16 Years Old in Civilian Labor Force:	72,377	
Employed	67,827	93.7%
Unemployed	4,550	6.3%
ACS20_5yr:B27001:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	334,462	
Male:	158,995	47.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	135,554	85.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	23,441	14.7%
Female:	175,467	52.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	153,765	87.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	21,702	12.4%
ACS20_5yr:C27001B:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Black or African American Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	80,504	
Under 19 Years:	27,463	34.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	26,468	32.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	995	1.2%
19 To 64 Years:	47,900	59.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	39,747	49.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	8,153	10.1%
65 Years And Over:	5,141	6.4%

With Health Insurance Coverage	5,047	6.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	94	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001C:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	1,654	
Under 19 Years:	422	25.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	301	18.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	121	7.3%
19 To 64 Years:	1,045	63.2%
With Health Insurance Coverage	712	43.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	333	20.1%
65 Years And Over:	187	11.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	154	9.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	33	2.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001D:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Asian Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	9,305	
Under 19 Years:	1,761	18.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,650	17.7%
No Health Insurance Coverage	111	1.2%
19 To 64 Years:	5,854	62.9%
With Health Insurance Coverage	5,010	53.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	844	9.1%
65 Years And Over:	1,690	18.2%

With Health Insurance Coverage	1,658	17.8%
No Health Insurance Coverage	32	0.3%
ACS20_5yr:C27001E:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	2,181	
Under 19 Years:	629	28.8%
With Health Insurance Coverage	507	23.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	122	5.6%
19 To 64 Years:	1,433	65.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	1,101	50.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	332	15.2%
65 Years And Over:	119	5.5%
With Health Insurance Coverage	119	5.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	0	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001F:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Some Other Race Alone)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	10,376	
Under 19 Years:	3,147	30.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	2,837	27.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	310	3.0%
19 To 64 Years:	6,085	58.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4,730	45.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,355	13.1%
65 Years And Over:	1,144	11.0%

With Health Insurance Coverage	1,134	10.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	10	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:C27001G:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Two or More Races)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	26,977	
Under 19 Years:	12,712	47.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	11,601	43.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	1,111	4.1%
19 To 64 Years:	13,257	49.1%
With Health Insurance Coverage	9,565	35.5%
No Health Insurance Coverage	3,692	13.7%
65 Years And Over:	1,008	3.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	966	3.6%
No Health Insurance Coverage	42	0.2%
ACS20_5yr:C27001H:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	148,655	
Under 19 Years:	36,123	24.3%
With Health Insurance Coverage	34,028	22.9%
No Health Insurance Coverage	2,095	1.4%
19 To 64 Years:	87,241	58.7%
With Health Insurance Coverage	73,140	49.2%
No Health Insurance Coverage	14,101	9.5%
65 Years And Over:	25,291	17.0%

With Health Insurance Coverage	25,223	17.0%
No Health Insurance Coverage	68	0.0%
ACS20_5yr:C27001I:Health Insurance Coverage Status By Age (Hispanic or Latino)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	85,796	
Under 19 Years:	32,955	38.4%
With Health Insurance Coverage	30,084	35.1%
No Health Insurance Coverage	2,871	3.3%
19 To 64 Years:	48,052	56.0%
With Health Insurance Coverage	33,687	39.3%
No Health Insurance Coverage	14,365	16.7%
65 Years And Over:	4,789	5.6%
With Health Insurance Coverage	4,674	5.4%
No Health Insurance Coverage	115	0.1%
ACS20_5yr:B25003:Tenure		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	125,747	
Owner Occupied	67,893	54.0%
Renter Occupied	57,854	46.0%
ACS20_5yr:B25003B:Tenure (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	31,176	
Owner Occupied	12,837	41.2%
Renter Occupied	18,339	58.8%

ACS20_5yr:B25003C:Tenure (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	525	
Owner Occupied	281	53.5%
Renter Occupied	244	46.5%
ACS20_5yr:B25003D:Tenure (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	3,577	
Owner Occupied	1,889	52.8%
Renter Occupied	1,688	47.2%
ACS20_5yr:B25003E:Tenure (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	932	
Owner Occupied	479	51.4%
Renter Occupied	453	48.6%
ACS20_5yr:B25003F:Tenure (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	3,449	
Owner Occupied	1,874	54.3%
Renter Occupied	1,575	45.7%
ACS20_5yr:B25003G:Tenure (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	6,397	
Owner Occupied	2,949	46.1%
Renter Occupied	3,448	53.9%
ACS20_5yr:B25003H:Tenure (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		

	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	63,272	
Owner Occupied	39,593	62.6%
Renter Occupied	23,679	37.4%
ACS20_5yr:B25003I:Tenure (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Total:	25,804	
Owner Occupied	12,529	48.6%
Renter Occupied	13,275	51.4%
ACS20_5yr:B19013:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$54,987	
ACS20_5yr:B19013B:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Black or African American Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$46,377	
ACS20_5yr:B19013C:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (American Indian And Alaska Native Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	

Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$49,432	
ACS20_5yr:B19013D:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Asian Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$53,882	
ACS20_5yr:B19013E:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Native Hawaiian And Other Pacific Islander Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$63,182	
ACS20_5yr:B19013F:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Some Other Race Alone Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$54,175	

ACS20_5yr:B19013G:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Two or More Races Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$49,020	
ACS20_5yr:B19013H:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$63,896	
ACS20_5yr:B19013I:Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) (Hispanic or Latino Householder)		
	<i>Estimate</i>	
Median Household Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2020 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)	\$47,994	